

**De Syrorum Orientalium Erroribus**  
**Auctore P. Francisco Ros S.I.:**  
**A Latin-Syriac Treatise from Early**  
**Modern Malabar (1586)**



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**De Syrorum Orientalium Erroribus  
Auctore P. Francisco Ros S.I.:  
A Latin-Syriac Treatise from Early  
Modern Malabar (1586)**

**Edited and Summarized  
with a Preface and Introduction by**

**Antony Mecherry, S.J.**



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## PREFACE

On 20 December 1599, Angamaly, the ecclesiastical see of the Saint Thomas Christians in early modern Malabar,<sup>1</sup> was reduced of its ancient metropolitan status to a suffragan see of the Latin Archdiocese of Goa governed then by the primate of India,<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Angamaly, an insulated centre close to the Western Ghats away from the Portuguese enclaves of Cochin and Cranganore, rose to its increasing prominence as the headquarters of the Malabar Church especially from 1557 onwards, when Mar Abraham (d. 1597), the East Syrian bishop of the Thomas Christians, settled there. For an overview of Mar Abraham's mission in the Malabar Church, see Cyriac Thevarmannil, "Mar Abraham, The Archbishop of St. Thomas Christians in Malabar (1508? –1597)" (PhD dissertation, Gregorian University Rome, 1963). For a critical analysis of the history of the Malabar Church during the period of Mar Abraham, see Antony Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation in Early Modern India: Francisco Ros SJ in Malabar (16th–17th Centuries)*, Bibliotheca Instituti Historici Societas Iesu, vol. 79 (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2019), 19–168. For an understanding of the history of the Thomas Christians during and before the early Portuguese period, see Georg Schurhammer, ed., "Three letters of Mar Jacob, Bishop of Malabar, 1503–50", *Gregorianum* 14 (1933): 61–86; Schurhammer, *The Malabar Church and Rome: During the Early Portuguese Period and Before* (Trichinopoly: St Joseph's Industrial School Press, 1934); Mathias A. Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India: From the Beginning up to the Middle of the Sixteenth Century (1542)*, vol. 1 (Bangalore: Church History Association of India, 1984).

<sup>2</sup> For the papal document regarding the reduction of the status, see Giuseppe Beltrami, ed., *La Chiesa Caldea nel Secolo dell'Unione, Orientalia Christiana*, vol. 29 (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1933), 133. Bishop Ros asked his secretary in 1603 to write a report on the history of the Malabar Church with a view to reclaiming its lost metropolitan status. For this report (ed. Vincenzo Poggi S.J.) and

Archbishop Aleixo de Menezes O.S.A. (r. 1595–1612).<sup>3</sup> In December 1600, Francisco Ros S.J. (1559–1624), the bishop-elect of Angamaly and the future successor of Mar Abraham, left Malabar half-heartedly for Goa accompanied by the Portuguese viceroy. Compelled by the Jesuit vow of obedience to present himself before the primate of India, Ros waited in Goa for the auspicious day of 28 January 1601,<sup>4</sup> as fixed by Menezes, to be consecrated on that day the first Latin bishop of Angamaly.

Of course, Menezes entertained a propagandist motive behind choosing the feast of St. Cyril of Alexandria (ca. 376–444) for the consecration of Ros. Cyril, one of the chief protagonists in the heated theological conflict emerged in the fifth century, is credited with the ‘reduction’<sup>5</sup> of Nestorius enacted in the first

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its translation in English (Jacob Kollaparambil), see Francisco Ros, “Report on the Serra (1603/1604)”, in *The Synod of Diamper Revisited*, ed. George Nedungatt, *Kanonika* 9, Appendix 4 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2001), 299–367. A Latin hierarchy was effectively established in India in 1533 by the erection of the diocese of Goa. Goa was raised to the status of an archbishopric in 1557, the year marked by the settlement of Mar Abraham in Angamaly.

<sup>3</sup> For a critical assessment of Menezes’ mission in Malabar (1599), see Antony Mecherry, “Archbishop Aleixo de Menezes OSA, A Portuguese Fidalgo: Behind the Curtain”, *Vidyajyoti Journal of Theological Reflection* 82/1 (2018): 8–34.

<sup>4</sup> “me sagro a los 28 de Janero, dia do S. Cyrillo Alexandria”. See Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, *Goa-Malabar* (hereafter ARSI, *Goa-Mal.*), 15, f. 30<sup>r</sup>. According to the arrangement of the *Roman Martyrology*, the commemoration of St. Cyril of Alexandria was assigned to 28 January until 1882, when Pope Leo XIII (1878–1903) rearranged the feast days assigning 9 February to Cyril, given that 28 January was already set aside for another office. See Ildefonso Schuster, *The Sacramentary (Liber Sacramentorum): Historical and Liturgical notes on the Roman Missal*, trans. Arthur Levelis-Marke, vol. 3, part. VI (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1927), 419.

<sup>5</sup> The term *reduction* is employed here in a sense that the early modern missionary correspondence from India attributed to it. The word *reduzir* in Catholic mission implied a sort of *reducing, bringing back, reclaiming, reforming, mending, leading back, restoring* etc. of the potential converts to Catholicism, and in the mission among the Thomas Christians, the Jesuits understood the term to denote a process of leading them to the customs of the Roman Church by undoing the East Syrian (Chaldean) influence

Council of Ephesus (431).<sup>6</sup> It is needless to mention that Nestorius, the patriarch of Constantinople (ca. 386–ca. 450), was the second protagonist, who stood at the opposite Antiochian camp during the theological battle of the century but only to be deposed by Cyril in the same council.

Symbolically speaking, the consecration of Ros held on the feast of Cyril seemed to be the heightened point of the reformatory Malabar mission of 1599 led by Menezes, the ‘early modern Cyril’ of India, who thought that he was successful in the systematic reduction of the Thomas Christians to the liturgical, ecclesiastical and theological matrix of the Western Church. Most importantly, his mission led also to the official end of the Chaldean and the age-old East Syrian jurisdiction over the Malabar Church, a much-awaited project entertained by the Portuguese Padroado.<sup>7</sup> Against

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on them. As Vincenzo Poggi rightly remarked, the term *reduzir* contextually meant the “reduction [of the Thomas Christians] into the fold of Peter”, but without any reference to the ‘Jesuit reductions’ held in the Latin American contexts. See Vincenzo Poggi, “Gesuiti e Diamper”, in *The Synod of Diamper Revisited*, ed. George Nedungatt (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2001), 105–33, at 117.

<sup>6</sup> Regarding the inner dynamics of this theological conflict, see Susan Wessel, *Cyril of Alexandria and the Nestorian Controversy: The Making of a Saint and of a Heretic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); George A. Bevan, *The New Judas: The Case of Nestorius in Ecclesiastical Politics, 428–451 CE* (Leuven, Paris: Peeters, 2016).

<sup>7</sup> The first branch of the Chaldean Catholic Church, sprout out of the Church of the East in 1553, successfully claimed its jurisdiction over the Thomas Christians, in a way overriding the age-old jurisdictional rights of the traditional church in Mesopotamia. The Catholic missionaries in India portrayed the newly born Chaldean Church and its patriarch as a new generation of the ‘Nestorians’ in disguise (“Chaldeos incognitos”). See Joseph Wicki, ed., *Documenta Indica*, vol. XIV, Monumenta Missionum Societatis Iesu, vol. 38 (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1979), 455. (Hereafter *D.I.*) During his visit to Rome, Yukhannan Sulaqa (r. 1553–55), the first patriarch of the Chaldean Church, had taken the initiative to ensure from the Portuguese secular powers the jurisdiction of his newly erected patriarchate over the Malabar Church. See Lucy Parker, “The Ambiguities of Belief and Belonging: Catholicism and the Church of the East in the Sixteenth Century”, *English Historical Review* CXXXIII 565 (2018): 1420–45, here 1427. However, the apostolic brief in *Supremo Militantis* issued on 4 August 1600 officially confirmed the

this colourful backdrop of a jurisdictional victory and a successful reduction of an ancient Church, the primate of Goa emblematically styled himself Cyril of India,<sup>8</sup> hoping in turn to create a glorious climax of a narrative, expected soon to be spread around the world, of his reportedly successful *jornada* in Malabar.<sup>9</sup>

Behind the scenes, the newly consecrated suffragan Bishop Ros, who was in fact forced to settle into the role of a figurehead under the command of the primate of Goa, wrote on the same day with a heavy heart to his Jesuit superiors in Rome, revealing his state of mind and portraying himself as “a captain who did not even know how to row well in a tempestuous sea full of pirates”.<sup>10</sup> The symbolic use of the term *pirate* in his first letter signed as the bishop of Angamaly implied the surreptitious piracy of the metropolitan status robbed off the prelate of the most ancient church in India. In addition to this euphemistic way of revealing his opposition to the project of Menezes, Ros openly expressed his anguish that “it was not without tears that he took up the cross”.<sup>11</sup> Gravely concerned of an imminent outbreak of reaction on the part of the Thomas Christians against the fraudulent reduction of the status of their ancient see, Ros returned to Angamaly on 1 May 1601 as their first Latin bishop. Amid growing protests

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Padroado jurisdiction over the diocese of Angamaly. See Vicecomite de Paiva Manso, ed. *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum*, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Typographia Nationali, 1868), 260–61. (Hereafter *BPP*).

<sup>8</sup> Amid bitter criticism grew up around the high-handed mission in Malabar, the archbishop portrayed himself in 1605 as “a fragile instrument” in God’s hand, implying that he was God’s agent in the stated reform of the Thomas Christians. See Menezes (21.X.1605), in Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon (AHU)—CU—058, *Caixa*. 1, doc. 20. ff. 23–24<sup>v</sup>. To fight the criticism raised by the “reckless people” in India, Menezes had already commissioned one of his Augustinian confrères, António de Gouvea, to write a narrative in support to his mission in the Malabar Church.

<sup>9</sup> The neo-hagiographical and propagandist account of Menezes’ mission in the Malabar Church first appeared in print in 1606. See António de Gouvea, *Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa Dom Frey Aleixo de Menezes Primas da India Oriental Religioso da Ordem de S. Agostinho* (Coímbra: Na Oficina de Diogo Gomez Loureyro Impressor da Universidade, 1606).

<sup>10</sup> ARSI, *Goa-Mal*. 15, f. 30<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Ros was forced by the Jesuit visitor, under the vow of obedience, to accept the responsibility for the see of Angamaly.

emerged in the headquarters of the Malabar Church,<sup>12</sup> Ros began to voice the cause of the Thomas Christians who were deeply hurt not only by their unheard petition sent to the pope in Rome seeking for a local hierarchy constituted of a prelate of their own proper rite and nation,<sup>13</sup> but also by the reduction of the metropolitan status of their ancient church.<sup>14</sup>

In addition to these underlying conflicts, the Synod of Diamper (1599),<sup>15</sup> convoked by Menezes in the Malabar Church, had incriminated the Thomas Christians in their alleged 'Nestorian' leanings,<sup>16</sup> in fact a dead letter in practice in the sixteenth-

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<sup>12</sup> For the details of the protest emerged in Angamaly, see Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 209–10.

<sup>13</sup> Mar Abraham and the Thomas Christians had jointly asked the pope in 1594 to confirm the proposed local hierarchy for the Malabar Church. However, for various political factors played behind the scenes, the pope did not respond to Mar Abraham. During this difficult time, Thomas Christians strongly believed that the Jesuits had withheld the papal letters concerning the naming of their Archdeacon George of the Cross as the metropolitan of Angamaly. For this reason, they swore a public oath in 1597, immediately after the death of Mar Abraham, to plead with the pope again if he were to send a Latin bishop to Angamaly. For all these details in the words of Ros himself (24.XII.1597), see ARSI, *Goa-Mal.* 14, ff. 357<sup>rv</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> For the inner dynamics, mostly political, that worked behind the suppression of the status of Angamaly, see chapter 3 in Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 183–278.

<sup>15</sup> For a critical study of the Synod of Diamper, see Jonas Thaliath, *The Synod of Diamper, Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 152 (Rome: Pontificum Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1958). For a different approach to the synod projecting Menezes as the reformer of the Malabar Church, see Gregorio Magno Antão, *De Synodi Diamperitanae Natura Atque Decretis* (Goa: Seminário de Rachol, 1952).

<sup>16</sup> The labelling of 'Nestorianism' in India worked as a tactic against the Chaldean bishops who enjoyed unchallenged jurisdiction over the Malabar Church. Precisely for this reason, the treatises written by Ros aimed not at projecting the stated 'Nestorianism' of the Thomas Christians, but specifically at exposing the errors of the 'Nestorians' (= Chaldeans/East Syrians) who inhabited East India. For the multifaceted methodological caveats entailed in calling the East Syrians 'Nestorians', see Sebastian Brock, "The 'Nestorian' Church: A Lamentable Misnomer", *Bulletin-John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 78, 3 (1996): 23–35.

century Malabar.<sup>17</sup> Responding effectively to the systematic piracy of the metropolitan status of Angamaly and revealing to his superiors the intriguing maneuver worked behind the synodal procedures,<sup>18</sup> Ros blocked the way of otherwise possible papal endorsement of the synod of Diamper convoked by the early modern ‘Cyril of India’, who desired to style himself the ‘creator’<sup>19</sup> of the successful mission among the Thomas Christians. In the resolution of the first part of this propagandist drama enacted in Malabar, Ros was found carrying the heavy *onus* (*burden*) of his episcopacy placed forcefully on his shoulders stripped off its *honor* (*honour*),<sup>20</sup> to the advantage of the primate of India, who successfully retained his honour of primacy, given the suffragan status strategically imposed on the most ancient church in India.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> The first generation of the Jesuit missionaries in Malabar had observed that the ‘Nestorianism’ allegedly held by the Thomas Christians had been a dead letter in practice, and for this reason, Melchior Carneiro S.J., in 1557 thought of encouraging their laudable customs without mentioning the name of Nestorius and his teachings. See *D.I.* III, 810–11. Melchior Nunes Barreto S.J., another missionary who worked in Malabar in 1558, to his great astonishment found himself in a dilemma and failed to explain the reason behind the true faith of the Thomas Christians, despite their long-standing acquaintance with the ‘Nestorian’ bishops, “who were not theologians”, according to him. See *D.I.* V, 416. On this question, Cardinal Tisserant (d. 1972) maintained that the ‘Nestorianism’ of the Thomas Christians had “remained a dead letter in practice, even if their liturgical books contained objectionable formulas”. See Eugène Tisserant, *Eastern Christianity in India: A History of the Syro-Malabar Church from the earliest time to the Present Day*, trans. E.R. Hambye (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1957), 18. In fact, this is the position held by Ros himself; he generally portrayed the Thomas Christians as Catholics, who were reportedly led astray by the suspected Syriac books from Mesopotamia.

<sup>18</sup> ARSI, *Goa-Mal.* 15, ff. 155<sup>rv</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> Ros blamed Menezes in 1608 for styling himself “the creator of the Malabar mission”. ARSI, *Goa-Mal.* 16, f. 161.

<sup>20</sup> The Jesuits in Malabar used these Latin terms to portray the crisis faced by Bishop Ros in 1601. ARSI, *Goa-Mal.* 55, ff. 41<sup>rv</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> The real motive behind the suppression of the metropolitan status of Angamaly was to safeguard the primacy of Menezes in India. For the details with sources, see Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 236–37.



In this preface, I do not enter into the complex details of the intriguing episode emerged in the early modern history of the Malabar Church, in which the characters changed their roles quite unpredictably. Certainly, Ros, an intelligent and young Jesuit in 1584, was responsible for the basic and polemical script of this drama, written in 1586–87 specifically with a view to ousting Mar Abraham from India.<sup>22</sup> However, the Rosian script, in terms of his treatises against ‘Nestorianism’ and its alleged agent Mar Abraham, turned out to be a powerful weapon and an opportunity in the hands of Menezes from 1595 onwards.

In the subsequent developments emerged in Malabar, Mar Abraham, the Catholic metropolitan of Angamaly was forcefully cast, without even his knowledge, in the lead role of Nestorius representing the opposite camp. In 1596, Menezes, under the aegis of the Inquisition of Goa, arranged a secret judicial inquiry into the life and faith of the dying Mar Abraham at the Jesuit residence in Vaipikotta in Malabar,<sup>23</sup> which in turn set the stage for the denouement of the drama noted also for the presence of the inquisitors in a crucial role. When the lead actor expected of playing the role of Nestorius passed away (beginning of 1597), Menezes recast his role forcefully imposing it on the local arch-deacon, George of the Cross, who was then a promoter of the Catholic mission in his church and a close friend of Ros.

Armed by two untimely papal briefs issued from Rome and by an order from the Inquisitor general in Lisbon,<sup>24</sup> Menezes staged a sort of reformatory synod at Diamper in Malabar in June 1599, which replicated the format of the first Council of Ephesus, in terms of the stringent atmosphere created in and around the synodal venue by the deployment of the Portuguese forces, although the new Cyril, the archbishop of Goa, had to content this

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<sup>22</sup> Mar Abraham first came to India in 1556 from the ‘Nestorian’ patriarchate. Ousted from India in 1558, he entered into communion with the Chaldean patriarch and Rome in 1565 and returned to Malabar in 1569. He governed the Malabar Church until his death in 1597.

<sup>23</sup> For a critical analysis of the secret judicial inquiry held in 1596, see Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 150–54.

<sup>24</sup> For the itinerary of these papal briefs, see Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 147–50.

time with the condemnation of the textual heresy drawn from the Syriac books found in Malabar. The synod created a canonical framework that aimed at reducing the Malabar Church to the traditions of the Western Church, a typical example of exclusive and coercive Latinization of a regional church.<sup>25</sup> In a way, the decisive findings by Ros of the contentious theological formulas and praises offered to the stated heresiarchs of the Church of the East in the Syriac books persisting in Malabar indirectly served as a reason to justify a precipitous reduction of the Malabar Church to the Latin hierarchical matrix.

Sensing the imminent danger ahead of time, Ros had tried in vain to dissuade Menezes from employing the conclusions of his earlier treatises for a coercive reduction of the Thomas Christians, especially in the changed ecclesial climate brought on by the rapprochement between the local leaders and the Jesuits from 1594 onwards<sup>26</sup> and by the death of Mar Abraham in 1597, the central protagonist of his treatises. Explicitly opposing the strategic moves of the primate of Goa, Ros disagreed with the untimely project of reassigning roles in a changed church, and for this reason, he alerted his superiors in Rome in 1597 to find an urgent remedy to control the excessive zeal of Menezes who wanted to hastily subdue Angamaly to the Latin archdiocese of Goa.<sup>27</sup> Such a swift move on the part of Menezes was in fact unnecessary, considering the secure administration of Angamaly in the hands of the local archdeacon.

With a view to redefining roles proper to the newly emerged setting, Ros rightly informed his superiors that Archdeacon

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<sup>25</sup> For understanding the difference between the inclusive and exclusive types of the project of Latinization, see Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 413.

<sup>26</sup> For the historical background of the changed ecclesial climate of the see of Angamaly from 1594 onwards, see Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 130–35, 155, 158–9, 161.

<sup>27</sup> “The Archbishop [Aleixo de Menezes] of Goa, by virtue of a brief from His Holiness, is responsible for the good of these people. Although he is a very zealous and saintly prelate, it would be advisable to proceed with these people cautiously, and all of them would be lost if force were imposed on them. Instead, by means of kind and gentle approach much could be done for them”. (trans. mine). ARSI, *Goa-Mal.* 14, ff. 357<sup>rv</sup>.

George, “a person of wisdom and excellent reasoning with sincere faith and character” was worthy to be consecrated bishop of Angamaly as the coadjutor of a Catholic metropolitan either from the Chaldean or from Maronite tradition.<sup>28</sup> In addition to this careful suggestion put forward with a view to resolving the growing crisis, Ros strongly opposed the naming of a Latin bishop in Angamaly, including the Jesuits. In other words, he informed his superiors in Rome that it was improper to force the archdeacon to take up the role of Nestorius as had already been recast by Menezes in the absence of Mar Abraham. But it was too late. At the end of the story, the original script writer, Ros, was completely sidelined, the Synod of Diamper overshot the mark and António de Gouvea O.S.A., a new script writer commissioned by Menezes, skilfully maneuvered a new script with a different narrative at the centre of which stood the heroic portrait of the primate of India.<sup>29</sup> The new script published from Coímbra in 1606 claimed, as restated also by Menezes with a view to adding authority to its content,<sup>30</sup> that the primary source of the book was a treatise composed by Bishop Ros of Angamaly.

After dropping the curtain and projecting his own image, Menezes left Malabar for Goa, but only to face, soon afterwards, strong criticism spread in India against his high-handed mission in the Malabar Church.<sup>31</sup> In the first decade of the seventeenth century, the early modern Cyril of India in the person of Menezes turned out to be the chief enemy of the Jesuits in Malabar.<sup>32</sup> The

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<sup>28</sup> “Este arçediago es sincero en la fe, y non tiene ruines costumbres; es también sagaz y de muy buen iuizio”. ARSI, *Goa-Mal.* 14, f. 357<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> Gouvea, *Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa Dom Frey Aleixo de Menezes*.

<sup>30</sup> Archivum Apostolicum Vaticanum (hereafter AAV), *Fondo Gonfalonieri*, XXXI, ff. 404–05<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> Menezes (21.X.1605), in AHU, *CU-058, Caixa.* 1, Document 20, ff. 23–24<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> Ros wrote to his superiors in 1607: “I already have told Your Reverence that archbishop [Menezes] is not in reality a friend of the Society [of Jesus], although when he came over to India, he resorted to [its] recommendation. But the exercise of authority makes a man come out of his shell, and it causes the river to overflow its banks”. ARSI, *Goa-Mal.* 16, ff. 104<sup>rv</sup>. For the criticism raised by the other Jesuits in Malabar against Menezes, see Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 216–19.

Thomas Christians continued to blame Menezes for unreasonably destroying their age-old 'Law of Thomas',<sup>33</sup> in terms of the regional features and traditions of their church. In their eyes, the propagandist narrative published in 1606 on the Malabar mission of Menezes appeared as "a book of calumny",<sup>34</sup> which unjustly portrayed the Thomas Christians before the world as heretics and as if they were allegedly brought back to the bosom of the Catholic Church by the mighty hands of Menezes.<sup>35</sup> Certainly, the creation of such a strategic backdrop with a heretical tone was necessary to project the image of the early modern Cyril of India.

Archdeacon George of the Cross and his followers strongly opposed the stigmatization of their community for the purpose of creating a propagandist and neo-hagiographic historiography.<sup>36</sup> He did not trust Bishop Ros anymore, despite the bishop's public

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<sup>33</sup> Archdeacon George of the Cross, after the death of Ros (1624), accused Menezes of destroying the 'Law of Thomas'. See ARSI, *Goa-Mal.* 50, ff. 216–17<sup>v</sup>. It is worth noting that the archdeacon, in the same letter to the Jesuit general, categorically stated that the presence of a few "errors" in the local church did not justify calling the Thomas Christians "heretics". He rightly put forward his position that the Thomas Christians would not have accepted the Catholic missionaries in their church, if they were heretics. The term 'Law of Thomas' traditionally and generally referred to the entire regional features of the Malabar Church. See *D.I.* XIV, 804. For a general understanding of what is meant by the expression 'Law of Thomas', see P. Vazheparampil, "The Tōmā Mārgā: Icon of the Indo-Oriental Identity of the Thomas Christians of India", in *Ostkirchliche Studien* 33 (1994): 187–210.

<sup>34</sup> The archdeacon asked the inquisitors in Goa, in 1611, to conduct an impartial inquiry into the misleading narrative of the neo-hagiographical book written on the Malabar mission of Menezes. See António Baião, *A Inquisição de Goa; Tentativa de História da sua Origem, Estabelecimento, Evolução e Extinção: Introdução á Correspondência dos Inquisidores da Índia 1569–1630*, vol. 2 (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências, 1930), 513–16.

<sup>35</sup> For an English rendition of this propagandist book, see Antonio de Gouvea, *Jornada of Dom Alexis de Menezes: A Portuguese Account of the Sixteenth Century Malabar: Jornada do Arcebispo Originally written in Portuguese in 1603 by António de Gouvea*, ed. Pius Malekandathil (Kochi: LRC Publications, 2003).

<sup>36</sup> For the attempts of the archdeacon to replace the defamatory history of the Thomas Christians with an honest one, see Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 287.

disavowal of his responsibility for the defamatory portrayal of the Thomas Christians and their church in the propagandist book authored by Gouvea.<sup>37</sup> In sum, Ros, the author of the polemical treatises against Mar Abraham, written at the initial stage of his mission, witnessed in his own lifetime how his works overshot the mark in the hands of powerful persons who wanted to be known as major players in mission narratives. Excluding the dogmatic formulations drawn by the Synod of Diamper, all other restrictions unilaterally imposed by the synod upon the regional and cultural features of the Malabar Church in turn thwarted a very different project that Ros had developed for the mission among the Thomas Christians in the previous ten years. The intelligent understanding of this unconventional mission project, known in the missionary circles as the praxis of Jesuit *accommodatio* (not to be understood in a superficial and exclusive sense of cultural, ritual and textual *adaptation* and inculturation) had helped Ros to a great extent to win remarkable hold upon the Thomas Christians as an authoritative person in the matters of doctrine, the Syriac language and the local customs.<sup>38</sup> To be sure, the classical concept of Jesuit *accommodatio* is built upon a complex principle articulated by Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus, according to which an unyielding mission required of its participants careful treads devoid of coercive traces. The Jesuit accommodation in mission aimed first at entering the heart of the potential converts to create a sort of change from within.

During his Malabar mission of 1599, Menezes did not even comprehend, of course in his overpowering zeal to reduce the Thomas Christians, what this praxis of accommodation meant in a Catholic mission, understood by him then in a conventional and exclusive way of preaching the gospel.<sup>39</sup> At the end of an uncomfortable rivalry that lasted for a decade between Ros and

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<sup>37</sup> Baião, *A Inquisição de Goa*, vol. 2, 513–16.

<sup>38</sup> For the cultural, liturgical, psychological, scriptural and social rationale behind the Jesuit accommodation see Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, xvi *et passim*.

<sup>39</sup> For a summary of the conflicts between Menezes and the Jesuits on the principle of *accommodatio*, see Mecherry, “Archbishop Aleixo de Menezes OSA”, 23–34.

Menezes, the former successfully retrieved from Rome the lost metropolitan status of Angamaly, in turn leading the play to its anti-climax, in which we find Ros enthroned as the metropolitan archbishop of the ancient see of Thomas the Apostle in India,<sup>40</sup> and Menezes, the new Cyril, prepared to leave India soon to take up the responsibility for the see of Braga. At the height of a different accommodation crisis emerged in the new Madurai mission set up under the jurisdiction of Archbishop Ros for the conversion of the Brahmins to Catholicism,<sup>41</sup> Menezes left the stage leaving the traces of his *Jornada* in India and abroad, which continue to play even today in the hands of naive readers a major role in adding commentaries to the one-sided historiography created by it.

Against the background of the important historical context explained above, this book presents before the readers the recently identified first treatise of Ros on ‘Nestorianism’ (1586) as it has come down to us. Incorporating into the findings of recent historical research, this treatise functions as an important key towards understanding how an early modern Latin missionary read with a polemical eye the question of ‘Nestorianism’, textually represented in the Syriac books produced in the Church of the East and found in the sixteenth century Malabar. In addition to the underlying historical and theological concerns reflected in this treatise, this book raises a pertinent epistemological question regarding the subtle instrumentalization of knowledge, sources and historiography for strategic purposes.

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Rome, Italy 2021

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<sup>40</sup> *BPP*, II, 8–9. The East Syrian and Chaldean prelates of Malabar were traditionally called the ‘Metropolitan of all-India’. ARSI, *Goa-Mal.* 65, ff. 3<sup>v</sup>–4<sup>v</sup>, 43<sup>v</sup>, 131.

<sup>41</sup> On the Jesuit accommodation put into practice among the Brahmins of Madurai from 1606 onwards and on Ros’ contribution to it, see Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 351–428.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The thought of publishing the recently identified first Latin-Syriac treatise authored by Francisco Ros S.J., an early modern missionary noted for his intelligent understanding and application of the mission praxis of *accommodatio* in South India, was not in my mind until the professional staff of the Jesuit Archives in Rome stumbled upon a sixteenth-century document on ‘Nestorianism’. The process of identifying its author and placing it in its historical setting was an easy task for me, given the theme of my PhD (2016) on the mission praxis of *accommodatio* promoted by Ros in South India. This newly identified document of 1586 represents the polemical phase of the making of Ros as a missionary who later led the Malabar Church, as an ardent promoter of accommodation, to the third decade of the seventeenth century as its first Latin archbishop.

On the occasion of the publication of the first Rosian treatise, I respectfully remember my gurus in Church History, Fr. Georg Schurhammer S.J. and Fr. Joseph Wicki S.J., who continue to inspire and motivate me with their dedicated and praiseworthy contribution to the academic field, especially to the history of the church in India and to the studies on the mission undertaken in India by the Jesuit Order. I express my sincere gratitude to the directors, librarians, and professional staff working at different archives and libraries in Rome, Lisbon, London and India, who have definitely played a significant role in my journey into the world of manuscripts, first introduced to me by the respected professors of my alma mater, Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome.

My sincere thanks are due to Fr. Brian Mac Cuarta S.J., the Academic Director of the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome, who provided me with the digital copies of this new document in the process of its identification. He enthusiastically welcomed my suggestion regarding the publication of this important document with the specialists of the field, speeding up the process of its cataloguing and obtaining for me the necessary permission on the part of the Society of Jesus to publish it. I am grateful to Dr. Sergio Palagiano, the professional staff of the Jesuit Archives, who facilitated the matters in this regard.

I owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Camilla Russell, IHSI publications editor in Rome, for having accompanied me in a professional way during the process of publishing my monograph on Francisco Ros (2019). To be sure, I have fruitfully profited from the academic interactions arranged by Dr. Russell, who encouraged me to proceed with the present project on the edition of this newly identified Latin-Syriac treatise. I remember with profound gratitude my Jesuit companions, especially at the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome, who continue to inspire me and provide me with an academic ambience. I am thankful to Gorgias Press for accepting this work for publication. Remembering with great affection my beloved mother, family and friends, who accompany me with their prayerful support, I conclude this note.



## ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONAL SIGNS

(...)	completed by the editor (abbr.)
[...]	the missing text cannot be supplied (reconstructed)
<...>	supplied by the editor
=	corresponds to, is the same as
a.c.	ante correctionem
AAV	Archivum Apostolicum Vaticanum
abbr.	in abbreviatura
add.	addidit
AHU	Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon
alterum	the other, the second (of the two)
ANTT	Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu
<i>B.O.C.</i>	<i>Biblioteca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana</i>
<i>BPP</i>	<i>Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum in Ecclesiis</i>
<i>BPPA</i>	<i>Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae in Ecclesiis Appendix</i>
<i>C.M.G.</i>	C. M. George (trans.) <i>De Erroribus Nestorianorum</i> (1986)
<i>ca.</i>	circa
<i>cha.</i>	chapter ( <i>S.D</i> )
<i>coni.</i>	conicit
<i>corr.</i>	correctio
<i>d.</i>	died
<i>D.I.</i>	<i>Documenta Indica</i>
<i>dec.</i>	decree ( <i>S.D</i> )
<i>del.</i>	delevit
<i>dist.</i>	distinxit
<i>E.P.</i>	<i>Enformação do Prelado do Serra</i> (1594)

e.t.	error transcriptionis
ed. (eds.)	edited by
<i>et passim</i>	<i>and throughout</i>
f. ff.	folium, folii
fort.	fortasse
G	ARSI, <i>Goa-Mal.</i> 50, 198 <sup>f</sup> –214 <sup>v</sup> . <i>De Erroribus Nestorianorum qui in hac India Orientali Versantur</i> (1587)
gl.	glossa
<i>Goa-Mal.</i>	<i>Goa-Malabar</i> (ARSI)
H	Hausherr Irénée S.J (ed.) <i>De Erroribus Nestorianorum</i> (1928)
I.L.	<i>Inquisição de Lisboa</i> , proc. 4941 (ANTT). <i>Interrogatorios de certas heresias et erros Nestorianos</i> (1596)
L. V.	Latin Vulgate
mg.	in margine
mut.	mutavit
n.	note
N.I.C.T.	<i>Novum Iesu Christi Testamentum</i> (1616)
N.T	<i>New Testament</i>
om.	omisit
O.S.A.	Ordo Fratrum Sancti Augustini (Augustinians)
O.P.	Ordo Fratrum Praedicatorum (Dominicans)
P	Peshitta
p.c.	post correctionem
premit.	premit (emphasized word/words)
prius	the earlier, the first (of the two)
pro	instead of
r (s.s)	recto
r.	reigned (ruled)
ras.	in rasura
S.D.	<i>Synod of Diamper</i> (1599)
S.I (S.J)	Societatis Iesu (of the Society of Jesus)
s.l.	supra lineam
s.s.	suprascriptum
scripsi	emended by the editor
Sess.	Session (S.D)
sic	sic erat scriptum
sq.	sequens

STC	Saint Thomas Christians
suppl.	supplevit
<i>T</i>	<i>Fondo Tacchi Venturi</i> , b. 26 fasc. 27, ff. 10 <sup>r</sup> –19 <sup>v</sup> (ARSI) <i>De Syrorum Orientalium Erroribus</i> (1586)
traī.	traiecit
trans.	translated by, translation
transp.	transposuit
trib.	tribuit
v (s.s)	verso
<i>V</i>	<i>Codice Vaticano Siriaco</i> , 83
v.l. (vv.ll.)	varia lectio (variae lectiones)
vid.	videtur



# CHAPTER ONE.

## INTRODUCTION

The present introduction sets the stage for the presentation of the first polemical treatise of Francisco Ros S.J.,<sup>1</sup> bringing to the fore at the same time the methodological caveats reflected in the related historiography. In the first decades of the twentieth century, Jean Castets S.J. (1858–1936), a missionary in South India and a writer on the European encounter of Sanskrit scholarship, stumbled upon in the local Jesuit archives a set of sixteenth-century manuscript folios of a Latin-Syriac treatise entitled *De Erroribus Nestorianorum qui in hac India Orientali Versantur* (ARSI, Goa-Mal. 50, 198<sup>r</sup>–214<sup>v</sup> = G). Identifying rightly its author and historical relevance, he took the initiative to publish it in association with Irénée Hausherr S.J. (1881–1978), a specialist in Greek patristic and monastic spirituality and a professor at the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome. Subsequently, in 1928, after 342 years of its writing, *G* (1587), the latter treatise by Ros, appeared for the first time in print (= *H*), with essential annotations by Hausherr and an introduction by Castets, in the volume xi.-1 of the series of the *Oriente Christiana* published from the same Institute.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For the studies on Francisco Ros S.J. (1559–1614), see Domenico Ferrolì, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, vol. 1 (Bangalore: Bangalore Press, 1939), 291–358; Angel Santos, “Francisco Ros, S.J., Arzobispo de Cranganore, Primer Obispo Jesuíta en la India (1557–1624)”, *Missionalia Hispanica* 5 (1948): 325–93; 6 (1949): 79–142; Antony Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*.

<sup>2</sup> Francisco Roz [Ros], “De Erroribus Nestorianorum qui in Hac India Orientali Versantur, Auctore P. Francisco Roz S.I.”, ed., Irénée Hausherr S.J.,

Until recently the academic world held the view that Ros had written only one treatise on ‘Nestorianism’. However, when I recently received from ARSI a set of sixteenth-century manuscript folios written in Latin-Syriac script, I soon identified, to my surprise, that the newly discovered document was another treatise from Ros on the question of ‘Nestorianism’ entitled *De Syrorum Orientalium Erroribus* (ARSI, *Fondo Tacchi Venturi, Serie Miscellanea, Sottoserie Collectio Historica*, b. 26 fasc. 27, ff. 10<sup>r</sup>–19<sup>v</sup> = *T*). At the first glance, I noticed that *T*, identified 433 years after its composition, was the first version of the treatise of its kind that Ros had sent to Rome in 1586. The present edition of this differently presented first treatise, accordingly, resolves an intriguing question I posed in connection with the rationale behind the production of a second treatise (*G*) on ‘Nestorianism’, polemically acute in its tone, by the end of 1587. The uncertain number of missing folios at the end of *T* do not prevent us from fixing the general structure and features of the entire treatise, especially given the extant version of the latter treatise.

Before introducing *T*, I find it necessary to present a critical appraisal of the misleading introductions given to *G* by Castets and Hausherr in their edition of 1928. Their introductions, influenced by a one-sided historiography they relied on, placed *G* against the backdrop of a distorted context, and for this reason, I begin with a historiographical critique of their introductions here as a tool to present the right contextual setting supported by archival sources and recent historical findings.

### CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF CASTETS’ INTRODUCTION TO *DE ERRORIBUS*<sup>3</sup>

In an attempt to place *G* in its historical setting, Castets reproduced in his introduction a dominant historiography available in his time, without seeing for himself the primary sources, and consequently, he committed several factual errors in his presentation, especially concerning his outright judgement on the Thomas

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intro., P. J. Castets S.J., *Orientalia Christiana* 11/1 (40), 1–35 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1928). (Hereafter *H*). In his edition, Hausherr does not refer to the folios of *G*, and it seems that he entrusted the treatise with ARSI after his work on it.

<sup>3</sup> *H*. 5–10.

Christians and their Chaldean metropolitan, Mar Abraham. Castets opened his introduction praising the exceptional and stated authority of twenty-seven-year-old Ros (in 1587), in terms of his presumed academic calibre in the theological field discussed in *G*. Hausherr, on the contrary, was careful in praising Ros' knowledge, especially at the initial stages of his mission, in Syriac and in the theological features of the Church of the East.<sup>4</sup> Certainly, one can only state that Ros, who came to India at the end of 1584, had made remarkable progress in Syriac by the end of 1587, when he completed his latter treatise on 'Nestorianism'.<sup>5</sup>

According to Castets' judgement, *G* aimed at enlightening Rome about the real state of the Malabar Church. Although this statement is partially correct in terms of the polemical purpose of *G*, it subtly shifted its intended focus from Mar Abraham, the chief protagonist represented in the treatise, to the Thomas Christians. Despite this grave error in interpreting the thrust of the treatise, Castets categorically introduced Mar Abraham as a 'Nestorian' heretic, even though Hausherr, the editor of *G*, did not even mention the name of Mar Abraham in his introduction. It was a crucial error also on the part of Hausherr, because he misrepresented the entire treatise as if it had aimed at the heretical leanings of the 'Syro-Malabar Church', a term he anachronistically employed to represent the sixteenth-century church of the Thomas Christians. Ros was in fact commissioned by his religious superiors in India to write a polemical treatise against the alleged errors of the East Syrians in general,<sup>6</sup> especially against Mar Abraham,<sup>7</sup> whom the

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<sup>4</sup> *H*.14, 20 n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Alessandro Valignano S.J. (1539–1606), the Jesuit visitor to the Orient, wrote in December 1585 that God had granted Ros singular grace to make incredible progress in Syriac in a few months. In the words of Valignano, Ros began to trace "many errors and Nestorian heresies" in the Syriac books, within a year of his arrival in India. *D.I.* XIV, 103–04.

<sup>6</sup> This initial thrust is notably traceable in the newly identified treatise *T*, in which Ros presented his arguments against the East Syrians in general, which is testified also by its title.

<sup>7</sup> The polemically acute version of *G* is a thoroughly edited document that aimed at turning Mar Abraham over to the reconsideration of the pope who had sent him to Malabar as the metropolitan of Angamaly. Instead, *T* does not mention the archbishop by name.

Portuguese agents in India had already branded at his first arrival in India in 1556 as a 'Nestorian mercenary' purposefully deployed among the Thomas Christians.<sup>8</sup>

Mar Abraham came to Malabar for the first time in 1556 from the traditional patriarchate of the Church of the East in Mesopotamia. In a quasi-inquisitorial procedure enacted in the guise of a month-long debate in Cochin, in August 1558, the Portuguese team judged that the bishop was not even a validly ordained priest on account of his association with the allegedly heretic patriarch of Babylonia. In the debate against Mar Abraham, the Portuguese team from Cochin capitalized on the presence of Mar Joseph Sulaqa (d. 1569), a Chaldean bishop delegated to India by Audishu IV Yukhannan (of Gazarta) (r. 1555–70), the Chaldean patriarch in communion with Rome. Deposed and exiled from India in 1559,<sup>9</sup> Mar Abraham was taken to Lisbon with the Portuguese vessels. However, he successfully escaped from Portuguese detention when their fleet was at anchor on the coast of Mozambique on its way to Lisbon.<sup>10</sup>

Based on the Portuguese historiography on the 'debate' held in 1558—that is, an event held prior to the Catholic communion of Mar Abraham in 1565, Castets anachronistically concluded at the end of his introduction that Mar Abraham had declared himself that he was not a validly ordained bishop and that he had voluntarily made his profession of Catholic faith.<sup>11</sup> Here the

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<sup>8</sup> *D.I.* XII, 543–44.

<sup>9</sup> *D.I.* XI, 63–64.

<sup>10</sup> Biblioteca Nacional Lisboa (BNL), Fondo Geral, *Cod.* 464, f. 7<sup>v</sup>; Joannes Facundi Raulin, ed. *Historia Ecclesiae Malabaricae cum Diamperitana Synodo apud Indos Nestorianos, S. Thomae Christianos noncupatos* (Romae: Typ. H. Mainardi, 1745), 13; Beltrami, *La Chiesa Caldea*, 50.

<sup>11</sup> *H.* 7. In this statement Castets placed together two events anachronistically. The first incident happened in August 1558 when Mar Abraham belonged, technically speaking, to the 'Nestorian' patriarchate. The second incident, that is, Mar Abraham's profession of faith, happened in Rome in 1565. On the 1558 incident, see *D.I.* IV, 232. In 1565, Pope Pius IV sent three letters of exhortations extending unconditional support to Mar Abraham: the first to the Chaldean patriarch, the second to the archbishop of Goa, and the third to the bishop of Cochin. For these letters, see Samuel Giamil, ed., *Genuinae Relationes Inter Sedem Apostolicam et*



author erroneously combined two historically distant episodes together in addition to a wrong interpretation furnished to them. To make it clear, in 1558, Mar Abraham, technically speaking a 'Nestorian' bishop then, was forcefully made to declare his errors consolidated in six propositions as designed by the Portuguese team that oversaw the debate mentioned above.<sup>12</sup> In 1565, Mar Abraham, a Catholic metropolitan then, professed Catholic faith before Pope Pius IV (r. 1559–65). The escape of Mar Abraham in 1559 and his subsequent association with Patriarch Mar Audishu IV in Mesopotamia paved the way for his official separation from the 'Nestorian' Church and his Catholic communion subsequently held in Rome. At the initiative of Mar Abraham and as agreed by the pope,<sup>13</sup> D. Giovanni Trevisano O.S.B. (r. 1560–90), the patriarch of Venice, consecrated him metropolitan of Angamaly conferring every grade of holy orders from tonsure through priest to bishop, in effect without giving any room for casting suspicion on his valid ordination and his official entry into the Catholic Church.<sup>14</sup>

The Catholic communion or the 'conversion' of Mar Abraham to the Roman Church was not an easily reconcilable event in the eyes of the Padroado officials in India, because the papal confirmation of the jurisdiction of Mar Abraham over the Malabar Church left open the legitimate possibility of having an independent non-Latin hierarchy in India in connection with the Chaldean patriarch. After all, the Portuguese secular powers, who technically enjoyed the right to make crucial decisions on the administration of the Indian mission, did not have any role in this new arrangement brought about by the pope in Rome and the

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*Assyriorum Orientalium seu Chaldaeorum Ecclesiam: Nunc Maiori ex Parte Primum Editae, Historicisque Adnotationibus Illustratae* (Rome: Ermanno Loescher, 1902) 69–73.

<sup>12</sup> D.I. IV, 231–32.

<sup>13</sup> D.I. XI, 64–65; BNL, Fondo Geral, *Codice* 464, f. 8<sup>r</sup>. According to the misrepresented narration by António de Gouvea O.S.B., a close companion of Archbishop Aleixo de Menezes (Goa), the pope had ordered Mar Abraham in 1565 to repeat all the sacramental rites from tonsure to priestly ordination. See Gouvea, *Jornada of Dom Alexis de Menezes*, 36.

<sup>14</sup> Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 58.

Chaldean patriarch in Mesopotamia. In addition to this underlying question regarding the jurisdictional autonomy entailed by the Padroado rights owned by Portugal,<sup>15</sup> King Sebastião I (r. 1557–78) had already, in 1563, ordered Francisco Coutinho, the Portuguese viceroy (r. 1561–64) in India, that the Syrian bishops be prevented from entering Malabar.<sup>16</sup>

Against the backdrop of the exceptional jurisdictional arrangements prevailing in the sixteenth century Latin Church, *G* plainly expressed its polemical purpose of turning the question of Mar Abraham over to the reconsideration of the pope in Rome and stated: “therefore after having taken the matter to the Supreme Pontiff, it would be best to deprive him [Mar Abraham] of his ecclesiastical rank and the See of the Archbishop”.<sup>17</sup> Just before placing this crucial statement in the conclusion, *G* portrayed

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<sup>15</sup> The rights of patronage (*Padroado*) of the Catholic missions owned by the state of Portugal had its origin during the reign of Afonso V (1438–81), the king of Portugal, to whom the papacy in Rome handed over the jurisdictional rights over the administration of the overseas missions realized in the fifteenth century by the conquest of new lands under the aegis of Portugal. When the exploration of the new world resumed under King João III (1481–95), Pope Sixtus IV confirmed the earlier Padroado privileges granted to Portugal by his predecessors, Nicolas V and Callixtus III. The crucial papal documents regarding these jurisdictional rights are *Romanus Pontifex* by Nicholas V (8.I.1455), *Inter Caetera* by Calixtus III (13.III.1456), and *Aeterni Regis* by Sixtus IV (21.VI.1481). For these documents, see Frances Gardiner Davenport, ed., *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies to 1648* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1917), 9–55.

<sup>16</sup> Sebastião I to Francisco Coutinho (6.III.1563), in *D.I.* VI, 12.

<sup>17</sup> *G.* f. 214<sup>r</sup>; Francisco Ros, “‘De Erroribus Nestorianorum’ of Franciscus Ros S.J”, trans. C. M. George, *Christian Orient* 10, no. 4 (1989): 143–62, here 161 (hereafter *C.M.G.*). It is important to note that C.M. George left out, in his translation made from *H*, a few passages of the original document (*G*). In addition to this imperfection in his contribution, the translator, disagreed with the Latin renditions that Ros had ascribed to the key Syriac terms. In an attempt to make a rendition closer to the original Syriac sources cited in the treatise, George employed in his English rendition transliterations of the important Syriac terms, without paying attention to how Ros interpreted and translated those terms in Latin. Academically speaking, this interpolation and distance from the original text make the translation by George academically unsound.

the Thomas Christians as witnesses from Malabar against the alleged heretical leanings entertained by Mar Abraham, whom the pope had named the metropolitan archbishop of Angamaly in agreement with the decision of the Chaldean patriarch. To accelerate a speedy procedure expected of the Roman curia, *G* portrayed the metropolitan as a “wolf who scattered the sheep” in Malabar.<sup>18</sup>

Returning now to the introduction of Castets, he overlooked the fact that Mar Abraham was in communion, from 1565 onwards, with the Chaldean Catholic Church and that the pope himself had sent him to the Malabar Church as its metropolitan providing him with all the official credentials and testimonies he needed in India. In this context it is worth noting that Manuel Rodrigues S.J., the Portuguese assistant (r. 1581–94) to the Jesuit Superior General, had reported, plainly countering the missionary narrative from India, to Cardinal Antonio Giulio Santoro (1532–1602), the person in charge in the papal curia of the affairs of the Oriental churches, that the pope would not send to Malabar “a wolf to pervert the [Thomas] Christians”.<sup>19</sup>

Without taking into account these underlying facts, Castets not only refused to ascribe any agency to the Thomas Christians but also portrayed them in his introduction as ‘poor’ and ‘ignorant’ Christians deceived by the ‘Nestorians’. At the same time, he sidelined the question of the legitimate Chaldean jurisdiction represented by Mar Abraham over the Malabar Church, the chief protagonist represented in *G*. Anachronistically incorporating into his introduction an information found in a later report (1654) addressed to the Portuguese king, Castets maintained that Syriac, the age-old liturgical language of the Malabar Church, had been completely alien to the local Christians in 1580s.<sup>20</sup>

Castets portrayed Archbishop Aleixo de Menezes, the protagonist who brought about the ‘reduction’ of the Malabar Church, as an illustrious primate who removed the name of the ‘Nestorian’ patriarch of the Thomas Christians from their texts of the Divine

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<sup>18</sup> *G*. f. 214<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> *D.I.* XIV, 918.

<sup>20</sup> For the sources used by Castets to develop his introduction, see *H*. 8 n. 1.

Office. In this unchecked praise of the archbishop, ‘the early modern Cyril of India’, Castets did not consider the fact that the Chaldean patriarch, who was condemned by Menezes in 1599 as a ‘Nestorian’ heretic, was in communion with Rome.

Castets’s statement in his introduction about the reported priority that the Jesuits in Malabar gave to learn Syriac is also far from truth. In fact, a strong anti-Syriac propaganda entertained by a dominant group among the missionaries depicted Syriac as ‘the door of heresy’ and tried every means to remove the language from the Malabar Church.<sup>21</sup> Mar Abraham, for the reason mentioned above, rightly alerted the missionaries to the danger that their anti-Syriac propaganda might bring to their mission in Malabar.<sup>22</sup> Anyhow, the wrong premise mentioned above led Castets to embrace another error according to which the Jesuits became capable of alerting the ecclesiastical authorities in Goa of the real state of the Malabar Church by means of their deep study of the local languages. In this statement, Castets ignored the central protagonist aimed at in the Rosian treatise and, as did Hausherr, mistakenly attributed the treatise to the Malabar Church and to the Thomas Christians.

It is true that Ros began to learn Syriac in December 1584 with a polemical purpose against Mar Abraham, but from 1588 onwards, he wanted to perpetuate Syriac and the regional customs of the Malabar Church amid serious opposition raised by most of his companions in mission. He promoted Syriac not with a view to alerting the ecclesiastical authorities about the alleged drawbacks of the Malabar Church. Instead, he wanted to design a clear-cut praxis of mission suitable for the Thomas Christians, in which Syriac played a decisive role especially in its first phase. The mission praxis of accommodation in the Malabar Church aimed at achieving a distant reduction of the Thomas Christians within their own Chaldean garb and Syriac trimmings. However, this unconventional mission method triggered new conflicts

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<sup>21</sup> The accommodation dilemma faced by the Jesuits in Malabar regarding the tolerance of the languages and customs of the Malabar Church led to the formation of two opposite groups among them. See Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 110–18, 412–26.

<sup>22</sup> *D.I.* XI, 800.

among the missionaries, because most of them did not comprehend the rationale behind a distant goal that required of them promoting the generally suspected languages and customs of the Thomas Christians. The missionaries in general cast suspicion on the regional features of the Malabar Church, because of its long-standing jurisdictional allegiance to the Church of the East. When Ros spoke of “entering through their door and coming out through our door”,<sup>23</sup> in terms of learning and practising the languages and customs of the Thomas Christians with a view to being accepted among them first as required of the first phase of accommodation, his confrères, save for a few exceptions, questioned him why they, the Latins in terms of their liturgical identity, ought to enter through the door of the local Christians.

Castets made another unchecked accusation against Mar Abraham according to which a paper that exposed the archbishop’s secret allegiance to the ‘Nestorian’ patriarch of Babylonia was discovered after his death.<sup>24</sup> According to another statement from Castets, the Portuguese viceroy and Archbishop Menezes arrested Mar Abraham on his arrival in Goa in 1568 (in fact Menezes came to India for the first time only in 1595) on an alleged charge of having obtained the papal credentials by means of his dissimulating tactics.<sup>25</sup> The Portuguese viceroy in fact

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<sup>23</sup> For an explanation of this basic principle of Jesuit accommodation, see Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 3 *et passim*.

<sup>24</sup> A Jesuit report dated 1594 against Mar Abraham also accused him of sending letters to both the patriarchs in Babylonia. See Francisco Ros, “Information about Mar Abraham”, in *The Synod of Diamper Revisited*, ed. George Nedungatt, trans. Jacob Kollaparambil, Appendix II, 283–94 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2001), 288. For the Portuguese original edited by Joseph Wicki (*Enformação do Prelado do Serra*), see *D.I.*, XVI, 1029–39. For a critical evaluation of this report, see Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 140–45. In 1594, Mar Abraham had in fact solemnly entrusted the Malabar Church with the pope in Rome and the Jesuits in Malabar, although the archbishop then openly expressed his desire to the missionaries that the jurisdiction of the Chaldean patriarch over the see of Angamaly be respected and that the local archdeacon be named as his successor. *D.I.* XVIII, 473.

<sup>25</sup> The Portuguese historiography underscored the dissimulating ways and dissembling humility of Mar Abraham. See *D.I.* VIII, 135–36.

arrested Mar Abraham on a charge of not presenting before him the credentials from Lisbon, as technically assumed by the Padroado privileges. A charge of dissimulation, on the other hand, will sound as if the Roman curia were not competent enough to expose the alleged tricks employed by the archbishop. To sum up, Castets reproduced here the Portuguese historiography that cast suspicion on the conversion of a 'Nestorian' bishop to Catholicism, which indirectly threatened the anticipated Padroado jurisdiction over the Thomas Christians. On account of these underlying jurisdictional questions, and also respecting the order from Lisbon, the viceroy detained Mar Abraham in 1568 in the Dominican monastery in Goa.<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, Mar Abraham tactfully escaped a second time from the Portuguese detention and reached his faithful in Malabar, in disguise.

Again, Castets wrongly depicted a papal order of 1595,<sup>27</sup> which called for an inquiry into the reported allegations against Mar Abraham, as the immediate consequence of his absence from the fourth provincial council of Goa (1594) and of a related report of the same year sent to Rome against the archbishop.<sup>28</sup> To be sure, even before the arrival of the papal brief, in November 1595, the Portuguese officials in India had received an order from Cardinal Alberto, the Inquisitor general in Lisbon, that a formal inquiry into the life and doctrine of Mar Abraham be conducted immediately under the aegis of the Inquisition of Goa.<sup>29</sup> Depending exclusively on a one-sided

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<sup>26</sup> Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 58.

<sup>27</sup> *D.I.* XVII, 230.

<sup>28</sup> For the underlying dynamics worked behind the issuance of the papal order of 27 January 1595, see Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 147–49. There is no connection between the absence of Mar Abraham in the provincial council (1594) or the subsequent report against him (1594) and the issuance of the papal order (1595). The two available versions of the report of 1594 are dated 30 September 1594 (Spanish copy) and 30 December 1594 (Portuguese copy). And it is impossible to conclude that the pope issued in January 1595 a brief against Mar Abraham on the basis of the reports shipped from India in December 1594.

<sup>29</sup> Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 127.

historiography, Castets portrayed Mar Abraham as a heretic who died in 1597 without receiving the sacraments of the church.<sup>30</sup>

While making another serious judgement against Archdeacon George of the Cross (whom Ros had in fact projected in 1597 as the most suitable candidate to be consecrated coadjutor bishop of the Angamaly),<sup>31</sup> Castets stated that the archdeacon was prevented from becoming the successor of Mar Abraham following the timely exposed insincerity on his part.<sup>32</sup> There are several other factual mistakes in the introduction of Castets, who stated that Ros was born in 1557,<sup>33</sup> that he arrived in India in 1583,<sup>34</sup> that he was immediately sent to the Thomas Christians after his arrival in 1583,<sup>35</sup> that in 1584 he began teaching Syriac in the Jesuit seminary at Vaipikotta,<sup>36</sup> and that in 1585 he accompanied Mar Abraham to Goa.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> In a secret judicial inquiry held on 27 April 1596 at the Jesuit residence at Vaipikotta, António Toscano S.J. had testified that Mar Abraham did not want to make the sacrament of confession before his death. See Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (ANTT), *Tribunal do Santo Officio, Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 4941, f. 31<sup>v</sup>. Immediately after the death of Mar Abraham, Menezes informed the inquisitors that Mar Abraham had died a heretic and schismatic. Baião, *A Inquisição de Goa*, vol. 2, 268. To understand the phases of the development of the one-sided historiography against Mar Abraham, see Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 162–65.

<sup>31</sup> ARSI, *Goa-Mal.* 14, f. 357<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> In fact, the fourth provincial council (1594), with a clear-cut political agenda to impose a Latin hierarchy on Angamaly, had blocked the naming of Archdeacon George of the Cross as the successor of Mar Abraham. See *D.I.* XVI, 651; Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 138–39.

<sup>33</sup> Every archival document prove that Ros was born in 1559. See Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 89 n. 2.

<sup>34</sup> Ros arrived at the port of Cochin after 1 November 1584. *D.I.* XIII, 577.

<sup>35</sup> Ros was immediately sent at his arrival to the Jesuit professed house in Goa partly to learn Syriac and partly to prepare textual testimonies against Mar Abraham who was supposed to participate in the third provincial council scheduled for 1585. *D.I.* XIII, 577.

<sup>36</sup> In fact, Ros began to learn Syriac after his arrival in 1584. He began his mission among the Thomas Christians for the first time only in the last week of December 1585. Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 98. An informal seminary training in Vaipikotta was organized only in 1587.

<sup>37</sup> Ros met Mar Abraham for the first time in April 1585 when the archbishop, accompanied by his assistant priests, visited Goa to participate

### CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF HAUSHERR'S INTRODUCTION TO *DE ERRORIBUS*<sup>38</sup>

Hausherr placed *De Erroribus Nestorianorum* against the backdrop of the Synod of Diamper (1599), on account of the mention in the treatise of the four scriptural verses cited also by the synod under the category of the verses allegedly falsified by the 'Nestorians'. In addition to the question of the interpolated scriptural verses, *G* referred to a few of the Syriac books condemned by the synod. Depending on these two points traceable in *G* and in the decrees of the Synod of Diamper, Hausherr portrayed *G* as an outline draft prepared for the synod of 1599. Basing on this mistaken premise, he guessed the possibility of the presence of an elaborated and later version of *G* that would have preceded the synod.<sup>39</sup>

Certainly, Ros did not compose any another Latin-Syriac treatise after sending *G*, and the *Enformação do Prelado do Serra* (1594),<sup>40</sup> generally attributed to Ros, was a strategically redacted report written in Spanish and Portuguese against Mar Abraham. Jesuit provincial Cabral (1533–1609) sent this report to Europe with an exclusive purpose of turning Mar Abraham over to the inquisitorial procedures. After all, the *Enformação do Prelado do Serra* (*E.P*) was not a treatise in itself and it did not carry Syriac texts and their Latin renditions as we find in *T* and *G*. The report of 1594 was not an elaborated version neither of *T* nor of *G*, and it was not, at the same time, a detailed preparatory groundwork for the synod of 1599, as assumed by Hausherr. When Ros composed his polemical Latin-Syriac treatises (1586–87) against Mar Abraham and the 'Nestorians', he did not have any idea of the future Synod of Diamper, which was part of a later project envisaged by Archbishop Menezes in 1599, three years after the death of Mar Abraham. Menezes arrived in India only in 1595.

The groundwork for the synodal decrees began secretly in the fortress of Cranganore in the final week of April 1599 by a

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in the third provincial council. For the sources, see Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 94.

<sup>38</sup> *H.* 11–14.

<sup>39</sup> *H.* 11 n. 2.

<sup>40</sup> *D.I.* XVI, 1029–39.



commission named by Menezes.<sup>41</sup> Since the synod primarily aimed at ‘reducing’ the Malabar Church to the Latin hierarchy and traditions, we do not find any accusation in its documents against Mar Abraham. To sum up, *E.P.*, as both *G* and *T*, functioned exclusively in its historical setting as a crucial document that contributed in due course to a secret inquisitorial procedure held against Mar Abraham in 1596.<sup>42</sup> With regard to these four documents (*T*, *G*, *E.P.*, and the report of a secret inquiry of 1596),<sup>43</sup> the Thomas Christians and their leaders were kept in the dark, but the Synod of Diamper was a public document, despite the secret interpolations made in its decrees by Menezes after the synod.<sup>44</sup>

Here emerge a few historical, methodological and chronological questions in presenting *G* as a preparatory draft of the future Synod of Diamper. Between 1588 and 1599, a major change occurred in the Malabar Church with the demise of Mar Abraham, the chief protagonist represented in *T* and *G*, who died in 1597 without receiving a response from the papal curia for his request sent in 1594 to name his archdeacon as his successor in Angamaly.<sup>45</sup> Both *T* and *G* had portrayed Mar Abraham as the promoter of the ‘Nestorian’ dogma among the Thomas Christians. From the very beginning of the official inception of the Jesuit mission in the Malabar Church (1577), Mar Abraham continued to resist the crucial part of the mission project upheld by the Jesuit visitor Valignano, concerning the establishment of a Latin seminary for

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<sup>41</sup> Gouvea, *Jornada of Dom Alexis de Menezes*, 230–36.

<sup>42</sup> For the inner dynamics worked behind the report of 1594, see Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 140–45.

<sup>43</sup> The final section of this present edition (*Impact of the Rosian treatises*) brings together all these five documents, including the decrees of the Synod of Diamper.

<sup>44</sup> After the conclusion of the synod, Ros revealed to his superiors in Rome: “to tell you the entire truth, some of the canons of the above-said Synod the Archbishop [Menezes] himself added after the Synod was over; not a single canon was discussed or altered”. ARSI, *Goa-Mal.* 15, ff. 155<sup>v</sup>. (trans. Thaliath, *The Synod of Diamper*, 130–31).

<sup>45</sup> For the stringent developments emerged in Angamaly immediately after the death of Mar Abraham, see Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 162–67.

the Thomas Christians. In addition to this justifiable resistance, the metropolitan continued to practise overtly the traditions of the Chaldean rite in the see of Angamaly, especially the rites concerning holy orders. The missionaries, on the contrary, had hoped in vain that they could easily brush the Chaldean bishop aside as a figurehead, especially after the realization of the canonical bindings imposed upon him by the decrees of the third provincial council of Goa (1585).<sup>46</sup>

Against the anticipated mission programme regarding a smooth transition of the Malabar Church to the exclusive format of a Latin diocese, Mar Abraham continued to live until the beginning of 1597 as a counterforce for the legitimate jurisdiction of his patriarch over the see of Angamaly and for the Chaldean traditions. That means, for twenty years the missionaries were not completely successful in implementing their Westernising project regarding the Malabar Church. An unyielding position was in a way required of the archbishop, because his faithful did not want to give way to the project put forward by the missionaries concerning their exclusive Latinizing policy. Mar Abraham, a foreigner in India, had tried occasionally in his dilemma to strike a fair balance between his responsibility for protecting the interest of the Thomas Christians, who ardently wanted to safeguard their ancient traditions and languages ('Law of Thomas'), and his need of the time to ensure the support of the Portuguese to his hierarchical jurisdiction in India.

This dilemma explains why the archbishop had to accept some of the reforms in his church in line with the Latin traditions.<sup>47</sup> However, whenever Mar Abraham gave an impression to his faithful that he was giving way, for some immediate benefits, to the customs of the missionaries, he lost a part of his faithful at

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<sup>46</sup> Despite his stern opposition against the Latin curriculum designed by Valignano for the seminary established in Vaipikotta for the Thomas Christians, Mar Abraham had responded positively to most of the stipulations issued by the third provincial council of Goa (1585), see Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 100–01.

<sup>47</sup> In the first synod of Angamaly (26.X.1583) organized by the Jesuits in Malabar, Mar Abraham accepted a few traditions of the Latin Church. See *D.I. XIII*, 499; Beltrami, *La Chiesa Caldea*, 109.

the advantage of a rival bishop in Malabar, Mar Simon,<sup>48</sup> who successfully showcased his belongingness to the traditional East Syrian Church, known in the missionary circles as the 'Babylonian Church' and the 'Nestorian Church'.

Although Mar Simon was successfully ousted from India in 1583, Mar Abraham continued to govern the Malabar Church, counterchecking the excessive measures of the missionaries, in terms of their attempt to bring in exclusive Latinization of the Thomas Christians. It is in this delicate context that the mission superiors in India redacted the crucial report of 1594 (*E.P*) against Mar Abraham, of course, capitalizing on the intellectual and anti-'Nestorian' polemics elaborated in the Rosian treatises. Paradoxically, especially from 1594 onwards, Mar Abraham and his arch-deacon were in harmony with the Jesuit mission, especially with Ros.<sup>49</sup>

The repeatedly sent allegations against Mar Abraham culminated in a secret judicial inquiry held in April 1596. In that unilateral inquiry directed by the Inquisition of Goa, the representatives of the Malabar Church did not have an opportunity to voice their cause as willed by Archbishop Menezes, who had already styled himself the prelate of the Thomas Christians. In sum, the textual polemics developed by Ros in his earlier stages of mission turned out to be, in the hands of the agents of the Portuguese Padroado, a crucial and powerful instrument first against Mar Abraham and then against the Thomas Christians. By 1597, the imperious approach of Menezes began to overshoot the mark culminating in 1599 in the Synod of Diamper, and the Jesuits in Malabar themselves, especially Ros, alerted their authorities in Rome to the

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<sup>48</sup> Mar Simon, who arrived in Malabar in 1576, entertained an intriguing project of creating a miniature church in Malabar after the model of his mother church in Mesopotamia by dividing the see of Angamaly into two parts. This strategic project, which aimed at reclaiming the ancient jurisdiction of the Church of the East over the Thomas Christians, posed a threat to the undivided authority of Mar Abraham. See Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 13.

<sup>49</sup> For the information regarding the change of the political scenario of Malabar from 1594 onwards, see Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 130–35.

hidden risks behind employing coercive means to subdue the Thomas Christians to the Roman customs,<sup>50</sup> especially in a context in which Mar Abraham was no more.

Since no Chaldean bishops were present in India from 1597 onwards, the decrees of the Synod of Diamper are silent about the allegations against Mar Abraham.<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, the Syriac books from the Church of the East, especially the private books kept out of reach of the missionaries, persisted in the see of Angamaly even after the death of the metropolitan. For this reason, the synod in its decrees directly addressed most of the classical definitions and propositions ascribed to the historical ‘Nestorianism’, in addition to its attempt, against the backdrop of the reverberating spirit of the Council of Trent (1545–63), to introduce among the Thomas Christians the Catholic dogma and the Latin sacramental system. Definitely, Ros was then the specialist of the field in all of India on account of his polemical treatises and studies made years back. This contextual analysis explains how and why the apologetic projection of the Catholic position of the theology of Incarnation, as elaborated by Ros in Malabar against the precepts of historical ‘Nestorianism’, reflected also in the decrees of the Synod of Diamper (Session III), although the synod maintained its own immediate goal of reducing the church in Malabar to the liturgical and traditional matrix familiar to the Western Christianity.

Revealing a misleading approach to G, Hausherr attributed its introductory part on the ‘Nestorians’ who inhabited Oriental India to the ‘Syro-Malabarians’ (Saint Thomas Christians in his mind). In fact, Ros’ introduction to his treatise reads as follows: “Although the Nestorians [the Chaldeans] who inhabit East India professed the Roman Catholic Faith, their books abound in the dogmas of Nestorius, Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia”.<sup>52</sup> This statement connects immediately to the person of Mar Abraham as

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<sup>50</sup> ARSI, *Goa-Mal.* 14, ff. 357<sup>rv</sup>.

<sup>51</sup> The Synod of Diamper mentioned the name of Mar Abraham four times but only as a reference point, twice to his death, once to the foundation of the church in Angamaly, and once in relation to one of the oaths taken by the Thomas Christians immediately after the death of the archbishop.

<sup>52</sup> *C.M.G.* 143.

the representative in India of the ‘Nestorian’ Church that professed the Roman faith (in 1553). Although *G* specifically refers to the ‘Nestorians’ (Chaldeans) who live in Oriental India, whose patriarchs had visited Rome and had confessed Catholic faith,<sup>53</sup> Hausherr took it for granted that Ros was referring to the Thomas Christians.<sup>54</sup>

Ros brought together two conflicting themes in the opening sentence of *G*, regarding the profession of Catholic faith made by the Chaldeans (‘Nestorians’ in his eye) on the one hand and the persisting errors in their Syriac books on the other. From this statement, Hausherr made a dissuasive conclusion in his introduction to the treatise: “We read between the lines that ignorance of theology and Syriac saves the good faith of all, including that of the [Thomas Christian] clergy”.<sup>55</sup> In this statement, however, Hausherr mistakenly assumed, like Castets, that the Thomas Christian priests were ignorant of Syriac. Most importantly, the editor missed the focal point that Ros explicitly wanted to emphasize in his introduction to *G*—that is, Ros did not ascribe ignorance to Mar Abraham; on the contrary, according to him, the metropolitan did not want to correct his books, although he “was acquainted with the Roman Catholic Faith as well as the Nestorian doctrines”.<sup>56</sup> In other words, the treatise gave no room in its introduction, contrary to what Hausherr thought, for the benefit of ignorance on the part of the ‘Nestorians’ (to be read Chaldeans) who lived in India. Contrastingly, Ros portrayed the alleged errors of an old Malabar priest as the offshoot of ignorance.<sup>57</sup> To sum up, according to *G*, Mar Abraham, despite his knowledge in the

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<sup>53</sup> While *T* cast suspicion on the motives of the Catholic communion of Patriarch Yukhannan Sulaqa (*T*. f. 11<sup>v</sup>), *G* condemned the profession of faith made by Patriarch Audishu IV Yukhannan of Gazarta (r. 1555–70) in Rome (*G*. f. 208<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>54</sup> *H*. 12.

<sup>55</sup> *H*. 12 (trans. mine).

<sup>56</sup> *C.M.G.* 143.

<sup>57</sup> “propter inscientiam”. *G*. f. 203<sup>v</sup>.

Catholic doctrine, condoned the errors in the Syriac books prevailing in the Malabar Church, a very serious allegation indeed.<sup>58</sup>

Proceeding from an unsettled premise clarified above, Hausherr divided *G* in five sessions in his edition, titling two of them, the first, specifically in connection with the erroneous books of the Syro-Malabar Church (Session C) and the second, with the moral state of the same church (Session D).<sup>59</sup> Notably, such a division of *G*, built on an inaccurate premise, leads to a wrong message that *G* was written primarily against the Thomas Christians. In fact, Ros himself had titled the respective part of Session C as follows: “Five texts of the Holy Scripture, corrupted by the heresy of Nestorius, found in the Syriac copies of the St. Thomas Christians”.<sup>60</sup> Hausherr edited this original rendition, added a subhead and presented it as follows in his introduction: “C. Preuves de la présence de ces erreurs dans les livres ecclésiastiques syro-malabares”: C a) Cinq textes scripturaires faussés dans un sens nestorien”.<sup>61</sup>

In addition to this subtle but grave shift of rendering, Hausherr presented Session D, the penultimate part of the treatise, as if it had something to do with the moral state of the Syro-Malabar Church. On the contrary, the part of the manuscript attributed to Session D presented Mar Abraham as a “wolf who scatter[ed] the sheep”<sup>62</sup> and as the culpable person for the reported degradation of the Malabar Church. With a view to substantiating this accusation against Mar Abraham, session D brought to the fore some social issues like the participation of the Thomas Christians in the ‘pagan’ ceremonies, the practice of divination, the alleged sacramental indiscipline of the local church and the questions like abuse of alcohol, which had in general nothing to do

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<sup>58</sup> For an analysis of the question of the explicit ‘Nestorian’ statements found in the books of the Chaldean Church, see Parker, “The Ambiguities of Belief and Belonging”, 1420–45.

<sup>59</sup> *H.* 12.

<sup>60</sup> “Quinque Sacrae Scripturae loca, Nestorii haeresi depravata, in Syriacis exemplaribus D(ivi) Thomae Fidelium Reperta”. *G.* f. 202<sup>r</sup>. See Appendix 3 of this book.

<sup>61</sup> *H.* 12.

<sup>62</sup> *G.* f. 214<sup>r</sup>.

with the Nestorian dogma as such. Nevertheless, these representations in the treatise served to portray Mar Abraham as an irresponsible prelate who let his sheep go astray. Besides this important point, Ros never in his theses depicted the Thomas Christians as ‘Nestorians’. Instead, he introduced them as “the faithful of St. Thomas” (*Fideles Divi Thomae*),<sup>63</sup> the “sheep” (*oves*), “the Church of St. Thomas” (*Ecclesia Divi Thomae*)<sup>64</sup> and as “witnesses” (*testes*) against “the wolf” (*lupus*).<sup>65</sup>

Regarding the alleged ‘Nestorian’ interpolations of the Scriptural verses mentioned above, Hausherr maintained that the allegations raised by Ros did not have any value to the academic field, especially in the context of the twentieth century. However, according to me, the concern over the different renditions of the Peshitta Bible is a question to be addressed from an academic, historical and theological point of view. Appreciating Ros at the same time for not distorting the Syriac sources in the process of reproducing them in his treatise, Hausherr hoped that the future publication of the liturgical texts of the Church of the East in its entirety would pave the way for placing the fragments employed in *G* in their proper context. It is true that Ros did not distort the sources he cited, except the occasional human errors detected both in *T* and *G*. Nevertheless, distortions crept in the Latin renditions supplied by Ros to the Syriac sources, as the critical annotations of this present edition demonstrate.

Hausherr reaffirmed at the concluding part of his introduction that *G* was only a draft (of the Synod of Diamper) noted by its variant Latin spelling and inconsistent use of capital letters. However, it is important to bear in mind that Ros, an inexperienced missionary in 1587, had followed in his treatises the orthography familiar to him in the sixteenth century, not without mistakes. In fact, as we know today, the Jesuits in Malabar, after sending *G* (January 1588) to Lisbon had asked Pedro da Fonseca

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<sup>63</sup> *G*. f. 202<sup>r</sup>, 214<sup>r</sup>; *T*. f. 10<sup>r</sup>, 11<sup>v</sup>, 19<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>64</sup> *G*. f. 213<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>65</sup> *G*. f. 214<sup>r</sup>.

S.J., the notable Jesuit philosopher of the sixteenth century, to correct the Latin language before sending the treatise to Rome.<sup>66</sup>

Regarding the polemical content of *G*, Hausherr maintained that it was not an easy task to find “subtle Nestorian” definitions in the Syriac texts cited by Ros, although the cult of the “three Greek doctors” were explicitly traceable in them. Rightly, the editor calls attention to a methodological caveat reflected in *G* regarding the absence of strict definitions in it regarding ‘Nestorianism’. I too agree with Hausherr that the mystery of incarnation is not limited to textual formulas which are subjected to intellectual scrutiny,<sup>67</sup> especially when these formulas are presented in a polemical treatise in which interpretation of texts plays a crucial role. In line with the polemical priority demonstrated by Ros in his treatises (*T* and *G*), his Latin renditions for the Syriac sources adopted a dogmatic strategy siding defensively with the Catholic teachings.

After all, the theological significance of the Syriac sources cited by Ros, mostly liturgical, lies not in the isolated dissection of words or phrases as done by him, but in acquiring a sense of the parts in its whole tenor. In this way, the Rosian treatises help us only to understand how an early modern Catholic missionary read the Syriac sources of the Church of the East through a Catholic theological lens. His initial dilemma in fixing definite meanings to key Syriac terms is explicitly detectable in the presentation of *T*, his first treatise, in which he attempted several possibilities of meanings in round brackets. Nevertheless, *G*, the latter treatise noted for its sharpened polemical purpose, ascribed fixed meanings to key Syriac terms, capitalizing on the advantage in those meanings to expose the classical ‘Nestorian’ dogma reportedly professed by Mar Abraham and his mother church in Mesopotamia.

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<sup>66</sup> *D.I.* XIV, 806; Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 107. This information reveals the fact that the manuscript folios of *G*, discovered in India in the first decades of the twentieth century, was only a copy of the original treatise of Ros.

<sup>67</sup> *H.* 13.



**DE SYRORUM ORIENTALIUM ERRORIBUS (1586)**

The historical context of *De Syrorum Orientalium Erroribus* (*T*), the newly identified and the first Latin-Syriac treatise by Ros,<sup>68</sup> corresponds to the setting explained in the critical analysis of the introductions to *G* by Castets and Hausherr. Generally speaking, Ros employed a notably different methodology in the overall presentation of *T*.

**On the title of *De Syrorum Orientalium Erroribus***

Ros entitled his first treatise on ‘Nestorianism’ *On the Errors of the East Syrians*, although *G*’s title reads: *On the Errors of the Nestorians who inhabit this Eastern India*. Maintaining a relatively honest approach to the ‘Nestorian’ question, *T*, the first treatise, addressed the Catholic Chaldeans living in India as *East Syrians*, a term the experts of the field generally employ today to represent the members of the Church of the East. Notably, *G*, the latter treatise, modified its title, introducing the word *Nestorians* with a view to conveying the idea that the Catholic Chaldeans dwelt in India, especially Mar Abraham, still belonged to the same family of the ‘Nestorians’, despite their profession of the Catholic faith made in 1553. In the specific case of Mar Abraham who professed the Catholic faith in 1565, Ros held the view that the archbishop’s Catholic communion had not substantially changed his theological identity inherited from the “great poison” of Babylonia,<sup>69</sup> in terms of the precepts of ‘Nestorianism’.

**On the linguistic approach in *T***

The carefully transcribed Syriac sources in *T* are generally furnished with diacritical and vocalic points, although in *G* these points are occasionally given and mostly omitted without

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<sup>68</sup> Since the different parts of this present edition establish that *T* (1586) predated *G* (1587), I do not repeat those points in this introduction.

<sup>69</sup> *T*. f. 10<sup>r</sup>. When a group of the Thomas Christians protested in 1601 against the coercively imposed Latin hierarchy on them, Ros portrayed the desire expressed by the Christians to restore the Chaldean jurisdiction over their church as the bad influence of the “Babylonian weeds” and the “garlic and onions of Egypt”. See ARSI, *Goa-Mal*. 15, ff. 23, 95.

*T* text 10:

The corresponding text 11 in  $G(H)$ :

An important orthographic observation in the Rosian treatises is regarding the adaptation in *G* towards the Maḏnḥāyā (eastern) script of Syriac, which indirectly implies that *T* was the first version of the treatise. *T* consistently employed the Eṣṭrangēlā (classical) script for *Taw* at every instances of ligatures of *Yōḏ* and *Taw*, whereas *G*, the latter redaction of the treatise in the same hand of Ros, employed Maḏnḥāyā script for *Taw* in all the respective cases of ligatures. Nevertheless, both *T* and *G* consistently employed Eṣṭrangēlā script for every ligature of *Taw* and 'Ālēp̄. Confirming again a shift in the use of script mentioned above, the end *Taw* is always written in Maḏnḥāyā script in the latter redaction of *G*, whereas, *T* consistently used Eṣṭrangēlā script for the end *Taw*. Given the prominence of the Eṣṭrangēlā script in *T*, it can be concluded that Ros had composed it at an earlier stage of his mission, either during his training in Goa in 1584–85 or immediately after his arrival in Malabar in December 1585. This observation is also confirmed by the general features of *T*, a carefully written script noted for its mistakes and

scrupulosity demonstrated by a new learner of Syriac. In the present edition of *T*, I have consistently employed the Maḏnhāyā script for the sake of uniformity in every case of Taw.

Every Syriac text in *T* is consistently in the hand of Ros, although twenty-one Syriac texts in *G* beginning from folio 202<sup>r</sup> (in *H* from text 5 onwards) until folio 207<sup>r</sup> (*H* text 26) are written by a notably different and prominently slanting hand.<sup>70</sup> One possible reason for this different hand in *G* could be that Ros might have depended on another person in Malabar to make copies of the parts of treatise before sending the original to Europe, especially during his tiresome mission in 1587. For this reason, it could be inferred that Hausherr made his edition of *G* from one of its copies discovered in India.

The linguistic analysis of the Syriac sources cited by Ros in his treatises is academically speaking insignificant, because the cited sources are not the contribution from Ros. His role here is limited in transcribing and incorporating those texts in his treatise. Except for a few errors that Ros occasionally and unintentionally made in his transcriptions, *T* is generally trustworthy in terms of its faithfulness to the original sources. The two exceptions to the case mentioned above regarding the linguistic analysis are applicable to *G* texts 3 and 8, the Syriac translations of Latin Vulgate (= *L.V*) by Ros himself, in which he freely rendered in Syriac the reportedly missing verses in Peshitta version (= *P*), the first with a polemical strategy in his mind against the precepts of 'Nestorianism',<sup>71</sup> the second with an apologetic purpose.<sup>72</sup> Under the section entitled translation strategies in this edition and in the critical annotation referred to the corresponding text in *T*, I have incorporated a separate discussion on *G* text 3. At the same time, in *G* text 8, Ros rendered I John 5: 8 (*L.V*) in Syriac as follows:

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<sup>70</sup> Cf. *G. f.* 202<sup>r</sup>. The different hand begins from the third Syriac text on the folio. See the appendix 3.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. *G. f.* 202<sup>r</sup> on 1 John 4: 3.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. *G. f.* 203<sup>r</sup> on 1 John 5: 8.



*Monitisque Sacris, qua ex Linguarum Fontibus, qua ex Variarum Versionum Collatione* edited by Luigi Novarini (1643).<sup>77</sup>

### The other Syriac sources in *T*

*T* has in total 27 Syriac texts and their Latin renditions, in which nine (1, 11, 12, 18, 23, 24, 25, 26 and 27) are found exclusively in *T*. In addition to these 27 texts, *T* includes the Latin renditions of *G* texts 3, 17, 26, 28 and 39.<sup>78</sup> As mentioned above, the first five texts in *T* are from the scripture, both *L.V* and *P* versions. The references to the sources regarding the rest of the texts in *T* are the following: Text 6: from the writings of unspecified authors (according to *G*, taken from public books);<sup>79</sup> Text 7: Hymn of the first Sunday of Advent;<sup>80</sup> Text 8: The book on Incarnation by Bar Kaldun Yohanan; Text 9: Bar Kaldun Yohanan; Text 10: Not specified;<sup>81</sup> Text 11: Bar Kaldun Yohanan; Text 12: Bar Kaldun Yohanan; Text 13: Liturgy of the Nativity;<sup>82</sup> Text 14: Liturgy of the Nativity;<sup>83</sup> Text 15: Liturgy of the Nativity;<sup>84</sup> Text 16: The Book of the Great Fast (Petition of the Ninevites); Text 17: Petition of the Ninevites; Text 18: Not specified; Text 19: Petition of the Ninevites;<sup>85</sup> Text 20: Not specified; Text 21: Not specified (Second

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<sup>77</sup> Luigi Novarini, ed., *Ioannes Expensus, Notis Monitisque Sacris, qua ex Linguarum Fontibus, qua ex Variarum Versionum Collatione* (Lyons: Sumpt. haered. Gabr. Boissat, & Laurentii Anisson, 1643).

<sup>78</sup> Cf. the table of comparison that demonstrates the corresponding texts in *G* and *T*.

<sup>79</sup> *G. f. 203<sup>r</sup>*. A similar text with an argumentative nature on the authority of the apostles is found in Luise Abramowski and Alan E. Goodman, eds. trans., *A Nestorian Collection of Christological Texts: Cambridge University Library Ms Oriental 1319*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, UK: University Press, 1972), 84–85.

<sup>80</sup> Codice Vaticano Siriaco, 83, f. 4; Thoma Darmo, ed., *Ktaba da-qdam wa-d-batar wa-d-hudra wa-d-kashkol wa-d-gazza w-qala d-`udrana `am ktaba d-mazmore*, vol. 1 (Trichur: Mar Narsai Press, 1960), 118.

<sup>81</sup> Codice Vaticano Siriaco, 83, f. 27.

<sup>82</sup> Darmo, ed., *Ktaba da-qdam*, vol. 1, 172.

<sup>83</sup> Codice Vaticano Siriaco, 83, f. 19<sup>v</sup>; Darmo, ed., *Ktaba da-qdam*, vol. 1, 171–2.

<sup>84</sup> Codice Vaticano Borgia, 60, f. 58.

<sup>85</sup> This reference is given in *G. f. 206<sup>v</sup>*.

Sunday after Epiphany);<sup>86</sup> Text 22: Petition of the Ninevites;<sup>87</sup> Text 23: not mentioned;<sup>88</sup> Text 24: Hymn on Adam's egression from Paradise; Text 25: From the doctor of the Syrians (First Sunday of Nativity);<sup>89</sup> Text 26: Petition of the Ninevites;<sup>90</sup> Text 27: Not specified.

### A general comment on the edition of *T*

The present edition of *T* in its running text emphasizes in italics the words and phrases underlined by Ros. The critical annotations take note of these highlighted parts of the treatise, a feature exclusive to *T*. Since the inconsistent system of punctuation employed in *T* abounds in commas, mostly unnecessary, this edition had adapted a reasonable system of punctuation in general with a view to bringing out the intended meaning of the author, as much as the manuscript permits it, but without specifying in the critical notes every case of omission and addition of punctuation marks. Fixing the treatise within a general structure, this edition presents *T* thematically under four heads, which are indicated in the text by the following majuscule alphabets excluding the descriptive titles:

- A. *Preamble to the treatise*
- B. *Five scriptural passages falsified in a Nestorian sense*
- C. *Theological formulas tainted with Nestorianism*
- D. *Commemorations dedicated to heresiarchs*

The thematic division of *T* varies in some of its features from the division attributed to *G* by Hausherr, as demonstrated in the overview table of both the manuscripts.<sup>91</sup> Besides the general differences in presentation, it is significant to note that *G* section B (*Brief account of the Nestorian errors*) is integrated into *T* section C; *G* section C corresponds to *T* section B; *G* section C (b)

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<sup>86</sup> Darmo, ed., *Ktaba da-qdam*, vol. 1, 221.

<sup>87</sup> Darmo, ed., *Ktaba da-qdam*, vol. 1, 308–9.

<sup>88</sup> *G* reads: “Nestorius says”. *G*. f. 201<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>89</sup> Darmo, ed., *Ktaba da-qdam*, vol. 1, 163.

<sup>90</sup> *G*. f. 221<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>91</sup> For a comparison between the structural division of *G* and *T* and for a summary of these treatises, see the overview table on page 38.

corresponds to *T* section C; *G* section C (c) corresponds to *T* section D and *G* section E (*Concluding remark on the meaning of certain Syriac words*) is integrated elaborately and differently into the respective context of the Syriac terms in *T*. The corresponding information given in *G* section D (according to *H*, *Details on the moral state of the Syro-Malabar Church*) is possibly lost with the missing folios of *T*.

The overview table of the Rosian treatises provides the readers with a brief summary of the contents of the two versions of the document, in addition to the cross-references indicated within round brackets, primarily under the head of *T*. As regards the orthographical and morphological question of the Latin text, this edition has maintained original features without making changes and corrections. Since *T* abounds in abbreviated words, their extensions are given within round brackets in the running text. At the same time, the entire words placed within round brackets, a technique employed by Ros in *T* to demonstrate alternate ways of translating or explaining Syriac words, mean that these words are reproduced in the edition as in the original manuscript.

Regarding the Syriac texts cited by Ros, this edition reproduces them as they appear in the original, maintaining at the same time the exact number of words in single lines. This approach will facilitate an easy reference to the original manuscript in addition to a convenient spacing out of the critical annotations. At the instances of variants in diacritical marks and vocalic points ascribed to the Syriac words cited in the two versions of the treatises, the critical annotations take note of them as variant readings. The few cases of diamond brackets in the running text enclose letters and words that this edition has supplied in places where the manuscript noticeably omits them.

To pinpoint some of the features of the critical annotations, they are generally presented as indicators to omissions, references, transcription errors and variant readings. Besides the technical aspects of the text, the annotations serve also as a helpful pointer to the related themes discussed in the manuscript and to the respective studies and sources, including the essential Patristic sources. The critical annotations take note of the transcription errors detected in *H* in comparison with *G* and variant readings.

This edition has standardized the interchangeable use of *u* and *v* in the Latin text. The references to the sessions, decrees and chapters of the Synod of Diamper (*S.D*) correspond to the reproduced edition of the synodal document by James Hough (1839).<sup>92</sup> If the critical edition finds it necessary to mention the Latin rendition of the synodal document, the respective notes are in reference to the reproduced edition of *S.D* by Joaquim Oliveira Bragança (1984).<sup>93</sup> Finally, it is important to bear in mind that the present edition has given greater prominence to the contextual setting and analysis of the Rosian treatise than its theological and source scrutiny.

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<sup>92</sup> James Hough, ed., “A Diocesan Synod of the Church and Bishoprick of Angamale, belonging to the Ancient Christians of St. Thomas in the Serra or Mountains of Malabar”, (Reproduced from the edition of M. Geddes, *The History of the Church of Malabar* (London: Smith & Walford, 1694)), in *The History of Christianity in India from the Commencement of the Christian Era*, vol. 2, Appendix A. 511–683 (London: Seeley and Burnside, 1839).

<sup>93</sup> Joaquim Oliveira Bragança, ed., “O Sínodo de Diamper”, texto das Actas (em português e latim, reproduz a edição de Paiva Manso no BPPA, Appendix. vol. 1. 1872), *Didaskalia* 14 (1984): 247–476.



## CHAPTER TWO.

### TRANSLATION STRATEGY ADOPTED IN THE ROSIAN TREATISES

In the following table, presented to demonstrate the general translation strategies employed in the Rosian treatises, the texts correspond in each row of the columns. For e.g., row 1 column 1 (= *G* text 1) corresponds to row 1 column 2 (= *T* text 9). An empty row indicates that there is no corresponding text available.

<i>G</i>	<i>T</i>
Text 1: ܡܢ ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Persona</i> ; ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Suppositum</i>	Text 9: ܡܢ ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Persona</i> ; ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Suppositum</i>
Text 2: ܡܢ ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Persona</i>	Text 8: ܡܢ ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Persona et figura</i>
Text 3: ܡܢ ܡܢܫܐ = <i>qui dividit</i>	<i>T. f. 10<sup>a</sup>: qui solvit</i>
Text 6 <sup>b</sup> : ܡܢ ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Similem</i>	Text 4: ܡܢ ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Similem</i>
Text 9: ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Suppositum</i> ; ܡܢ ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Aequale in Essentia</i>	Text 6: ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Suppositum</i> ; ܡܢ ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Consubstantiale</i>
Text 10: ܡܢ ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Representatione</i> ; ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Suppositum</i> ; ܡܢܫܐ = <i>natura</i>	Text 7: ܡܢ ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Persona</i> ; ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Suppositum</i> ; ܡܢܫܐ = <i>natura</i>
Text 11: ܡܢ ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Representatione</i> ; ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Hypostasis</i> ; ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Natura</i>	Text 10: ܡܢ ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Persona</i> ; ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Hypostasis</i> ; ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Natura</i>
	Text 11: ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Suppositum</i> ; ܡܢܫܐ = <i>natura</i>
Text 12: ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Suppositum</i>	Text 22: ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Suppositum</i>
Text 14: ܡܢ ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Representatione</i>	Text 14: ܡܢ ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Persona</i>
Text 16: ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Suppositum</i>	
Text 19: ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Natura</i>	Text 22 <sup>a</sup> : ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Natura</i>
Text 20: ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Natura</i>	
Text 24 <sup>a</sup> : ܡܢܫܐ <sup>a</sup> = <i>Substantia</i> ;	Text 16: ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Substantia</i>
Text 24 <sup>b</sup> : ܡܢܫܐ <sup>b</sup> = <i>Suppositum</i>	Text 19: ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Substantia</i>
	Text 24: ܡܢܫܐ = <i>Substantia</i>

Text 25: ܢܬܪܐ = <i>Natura</i> ; ܥܫܐ = <i>Essentia</i> ; ܐܩܘܐܠܐ = <i>Aequale</i>	
Text 27: ܥܠܐ = <i>Causa</i> ; ܫܘܦܫܘܬܐ = <i>Suppositum</i>	
Text 30: ܫܘܦܫܘܬܐ = <i>Hypostasim</i>	
Text 39: ܫܘܦܫܘܬܐ <sup>a</sup> = <i>Suppositum</i> ; ܫܘܦܫܘܬܐ <sup>b</sup> = <i>Suppositum</i>	Latin T. f. 18 <sup>r</sup> ; <i>Suppositum</i> ; <i>Suppositum</i>

Ros adopts different strategies in translating the Syriac sources presented in *T* and *G*. While *T* always renders ܦܪܫܘܬܐ as *persona* (texts 7, 8, 9, 10 and 14), *G* translates the word as *representatione* (three cases) and *persona* (two cases) capitalizing on the possibility within the respective texts to bring to the fore the classical precepts attributed to historical ‘Nestorianism’. Accordingly, *G* texts 1 and 2 translates ܦܪܫܘܬܐ as *persona*; but the texts 10, 11 and 14 render the word as *representatione*. Ros maintained a polemical purpose in retaining the word *persona* in the first two cases, in terms of his priority to expose the reportedly untenable sense and definition attributed by the ‘Nestorians’ to the word ܦܪܫܘܬܐ in terms of a *figure* or an *image*. With the same polemical purpose, Ros rendered the Syriac word as *persona* in *T* texts 8 and 9.

Every Syriac source mentioned above brought forth, according to Ros, the sense of *persona* as something which is given and taken (definition in terms of accidental attribute). At the same time, *suppositum* (ܫܘܦܫܘܬܐ) is not given and taken. The relationship between *suppositum* and *persona*, according to the Syriac text (*G* text 1; *T* text 9) and at the level of its interpretation, is one of accidental union similar to a seal in the wax and to an image embossed in a coin. The wax and coin, according to the applied analogy in the Syriac source, receive the ܦܪܫܘܬܐ (*persona*) of the seal and the image, in the process of which the seal and the image are also called *persona*. The Syriac text in *G* likened this concept of relation to: “Peter assumes (ܬܠܥܐ) the *persona* of Paul”. Capitalizing on these ideas reflected in the Syriac text, Ros interpreted the ‘Nestorian’ position on the Union of Incarnation as if two *supposita* are united in one *persona*, understood merely in the sense of an image (ܬܠܥܐ) or a figure, a union realized by means of dispensation (ܕܡܕܢܐܝܬܐ).

With a view to bringing out the sense of *image* attributed to the one *persona* of Christ with two *supposita* (human and divine), Ros translated ܦܢܥܘܬܐ in *T* text 8 as *persona et figura* (Christ), in whom, as he emphasized in his explanation, the will of God and man had concurred as one will. Here Ros made his conclusion that the ‘Nestorians’ spoke of the one *persona* of Filiation, in whom every action of Christ is assumed together. In this case, an additional meaning given to ܦܢܥܘܬܐ as *et figura* served his polemical purpose to show that the ‘Nestorians’ divided Christ into two persons.

Although *T*, the first treatise from Ros, always rendered ܦܢܥܘܬܐ as *persona* (except the addition of *et figura* in *T* text 8), the latter treatise *G* employed another strategy in three cases by translating the word as *representatione* (*G* text 10, 11 and 14). *G* text 10, drawn from the liturgy of the first Sunday of Advent, brings together in a single sentence the three crucial terms employed in the East Syrian Christology: “From the beginning of the admirable conception, he united it with him in one honour. In the one representation (ܦܢܥܘܬܐ) of one Filiation, the natures (ܡܫܝܬܐ) are preserved in their supposita (ܡܫܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܬܐ).”<sup>1</sup> In this text, Ros polemically rendered ܦܢܥܘܬܐ as *representatione* in consonance with the stated definition ascribed to the word in *G* text 1 (*T* text 9) as *image* (*representation*). The strategic application of the word *representatione* aimed at presenting the Son as a mode of representation of God, instead of presenting the Godhead of the Son.

At the same time, the rendition of ܦܢܥܘܬܐ as *representatione* in the latter treatise *G* implied a subtle change of awareness on the part of Ros regarding the confusing application of the word by Nestorius himself. After all, Nestorius did use ܦܢܥܘܬܐ in two different senses, first, as the exterior “appearance” of a thing, and the second, in a sense approximately equivalent of the word *person*. While the first sense implied the undiminished unity of the two natures of Christ, each with a substantive reality, the second sense was attributed to Jesus Christ as the common *person* of two natures. Accordingly, Nestorius spoke of the two ܦܢܥܘܬܐ in the first

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<sup>1</sup> *G*. f. 204<sup>r</sup>; *H*. 22.

sense and in the one ܩܢܘܡܐ of Jesus Christ, in the second sense.<sup>2</sup> Notably, the first treatise of Ros, *T*, did not capitalize on the crucial polemical possibility of the first sense of the word ܩܢܘܡܐ, and for this reason, he translated the word in *T* as *persona*.

According to the Syriac source cited by Ros in *T* text 7 (*G* text 10), the East Syrians emphasized the preservation in Christ of the two natures (ܡܬܬ) in their ܩܢܘܡܐ in the one ܩܢܘܡܐ of Filiation. Ros' commentary to the text in *G* underscored the words *two hypostaseis* (ܡܬܬ),<sup>3</sup> with a view to establishing that the 'Nestorians' were promoting the dogma of two *hypostaseis* (understood as two persons, human and divine) in Christ.<sup>4</sup> Certainly, Ros placed the Syriac sources against the backdrop of the Chalcedonian definition, that is, two *physeis* (natures) and one *hypostasis* in Christ.<sup>5</sup> It could then be inferred that he wanted to emphasize the evidence in the Syriac source, of the two ܡܬܬ in Christ, polemically using it to expose the stated 'Nestorian' position of the two persons (*hypostaseis*) in Christ.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> For an understanding of how Nestorius' use of ܩܢܘܡܐ paved the way for polemical questions and interpretations, see Mark Dickens, "PRO: Nestorius did not intend to argue that Christ had a dual nature, but that view became labelled Nestorianism", in *Popular Controversies in World History: Investigating History's Intriguing Questions*, ed. Steven L. Danver, vol 1, *Pre-history and Early Civilizations*, 145–62 (Santa Barbara, Ca: ABC-CLIO, 2011), here 159.

<sup>3</sup> *G. f.* 204'.

<sup>4</sup> According to Brock, "[w]hen the Church of the East uses *qnoma* in connection with 'nature' it usually speaks of 'the two natures and their *qnomas*', where *qnoma* means something like 'individual manifestation': a *qnoma* is an individual instance or example of a *kyana* (which is understood as always abstract), but this individual manifestation is not necessarily a self-existent instance of a *kyana*. Thus, when the Church of the East speaks of two *qnome* in the incarnate Christ, this does not have the same sense as two *hypostaseis*, where *hypostasis* does have the sense of self-existence". Brock, "The 'Nestorian' Church: A Lamentable Misnomer", 28.

<sup>5</sup> At this instance it is important to note that the East Syrians had maintained a different understanding of the word *kyana* (*nature/physics*). See Brock, "The 'Nestorian' Church: A Lamentable Misnomer", 28.

<sup>6</sup> For an understanding of these terminological intricacies, see Dickens, "PRO: Nestorius did not intend to argue that Christ had a dual nature", 148.

The same strategy in translating the key Syriac terms reflected in *G* texts 11 and 14 (respectively *T* texts 10 and 14). *G* text 11, drawn from the liturgy of the Nativity, rendered ܦܨܬܘܬܐ as *representatione* and accused the ‘Nestorians’ of dividing Christ into two: Christ God on the one hand and Jesus the temple of God, on the other hand. Anyhow, *G* text 11 clearly articulated the words two *natures* (ܡܬܚܝܬܐ), two *hypostaseis* (ܡܬܚܝܬܐ) and one *representation* (ܦܨܬܘܬܐ) in Christ. *G* text 14 again rendered ܦܨܬܘܬܐ as *representatione*, and the corresponding *T* text 14 presented Christ as the temple and its founder in one *persona*, a point that *G* highlighted as an evidence for the heresy regarding the two *supposita* in Christ.

*T* translated all the instances (Texts 6, 7, 9 and 22), save for text 10, of ܡܬܚܝܬܐ as *suppositum*. *T* text 10 rendered it as *hypostasis*, the Greek term traditionally used to designate a divine person in the Trinity. Accordingly, Ros read the Syriac text, which clearly spoke of two ܡܬܚܝܬܐ, as two *hypostaseis* (persons) in Christ. As the table above shows, in *T* text 10 (*G* text 11), all the key Christological terms of ܦܨܬܘܬܐ, ܡܬܚܝܬܐ and ܡܬܚܝܬܐ come together and Ros rendered them specifically as *persona* (*G representatione*), *natura* and *hypostasis*. In addition to text 11, *G* rendered ܡܬܚܝܬܐ as *hypostasis* in the strategic text 30 (“he assumed the human *hypostasis*”), reportedly quoted from the profession of faith made by Mar Audishu IV Yukhannan, the successor of Yukhannan Sulaqa, in Rome. In effect, *G* text 30 polemically cast suspicion on the purity of the profession of faith of a Chaldean patriarch. Similarly, the later report against Mar Abraham (1594) cast suspicion on his profession of faith made in Rome in 1565.<sup>7</sup> All the other applicable instances of the texts in *G* (texts 1, 9, 10 and 12) rendered ܡܬܚܝܬܐ as *suppositum*, the Latin equivalent of *hypostasis*.

Besides the key terms mentioned above, Ros underscored in his treatises ܡܬܚܝܬܐ and ܡܬܚܝܬܐ with a view to accusing the East Syrians of maintaining an erroneous theology. *T* texts 16 and 19 rendered ܡܬܚܝܬܐ as *substantia*, the Latin equivalent of the Greek word *hypostasis*. However, the corresponding *G* text 24 (*T* text 16) translated the first instance of ܡܬܚܝܬܐ as *substantia* and the second instance

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<sup>7</sup> For this allegation against Mar Abraham, see Ros, “Information about Mar Abraham”, 287–88.



It is on the basis of *G* text 27 that Ros presented the final section of *G*,<sup>11</sup> in which he interpreted the meaning of crucial Syriac words in line with his polemical purpose. In the final section of *G*, Ros strictly limited the meaning of the word ܥܠܡܐ as *cause God*, denying to it at the same time the other possible meanings such as *essence*, *nature* and *substance*. Prompted by the purpose of the treatise, Ros rendered ܥܠܡܐ in *G* text 27 as eternal *cause* and not as *God* or as *essence* or as *substance*. According to him and as explicitly explained on *T. f.* 18<sup>v</sup>, the ‘Nestorians’ avoided in their Syriac books the specific word ܥܠܡܐ to mean *God* knowing that they would have compelled to say that Mary gave birth to God, had they employed it otherwise in the place of ܥܠܡܐ.

Ros upheld the same argument regarding the meaning of the word ܥܠܡܐ which he rendered in his translations interchangeably as *suppositum* and *substantiam*. Applying the same argument mentioned above, he blamed the ‘Nestorians’ for replacing the word *God* with ܥܠܡܐ allegedly with a view to denying that Mary gave birth to God. In addition to this, *T* provides another untenable lexical reasoning in the explanation of the word ܥܠܡܐ.<sup>12</sup> Anyhow, Ros did not introduce *G* text 27 in *T*, and to be sure, the Syriac sources with the words ܥܠܡܐ and ܥܠܡܐ give room for contradictory interpretations, depending on the theological agenda of the person who interprets them. While *G* text 17 (*T. f.* 18<sup>r</sup>) rendered ܥܠܡܐ not as *causa* but as *Deum*,<sup>13</sup> *T* translated it employing first its primary meaning, *causa*, but giving *Deum* in round brackets as explanation. At the same time, *G* text 16 (*T. om.*) rendered: “Maria did not give birth to the *suppositum* (ܥܠܡܐ), which is hidden to everyone”.<sup>14</sup>

In another notable source *G* text 39 (Latin rendition in *T. f.* 18<sup>r</sup>), ܥܠܡܐ is repeated twice and Ros translated these cases as (divine) *suppositum*.<sup>15</sup> The text portrays Diodore, Theodore and Nestorius, the three prominent leaders who paved the way for the development of the East Syrian Christology, as the victorious ones in the divine judgement on account of their elevation of the divine

<sup>11</sup> Section E. See the overview table of *G* and *T*.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *T. f.* 18<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> *G. f.* 205<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> *G. f.* 205<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> *G. f.* 210<sup>v</sup>.





providing also the Syriac equivalent of *dividit*. Of course, Ros maintained a polemical purpose in making this subtle shift in his rendition.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>21</sup> ܡܠܟ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܩܨܬ ܠܡܥܪܬ ܠܡܥܪܬ ܡܢ ܕܠܗܐ: ܕܠܐ ܡܥܬܬ ܡܢ ܕܠܐ.

Latin Translation from *G* reads: *et omnis spiritus qui dividit* (ܕܩܨܬ) *Iesum non est ille ex Deo, sed est Antichristus*. The strategic choice of the word *dividit* and its Syriac equivalent ܩܨܬ emphasized the meanings, *to separate, to distinguish, to depart* etc., and this subtle rendition apologetically worked as an effective attack on the ‘Nestorians’ whom Ros accused not only of *dividing* Christ but also of removing from *P* the verse (1 John 4:3) allegedly contrary to their theological position.

### Comparison Table of the Syriac-Latin texts<sup>22</sup>

<i>G</i>	<i>T</i>
(om.)	Text 1
Text 1 <sup>a</sup> ( <i>H. B.</i> )	Text 9
Text 2 ( <i>H. B.</i> )	Text 8 (Text 7 <sup>p</sup> , Text 21 <sup>p</sup> )
Text 3 ( <i>Latin Vulgate</i> ) ( <i>H. C.a.</i> )	Syriac (om.) Latin <i>T. f. 10<sup>f</sup></i> .
Text 4 ( <i>H. C.a.</i> )	Text 5
Text 5 <sup>b</sup> ( <i>H. C.a.</i> )	Text 3
Text 6 <sup>b</sup> ( <i>H. C.a.</i> )	Text 4
Text 7 <sup>b</sup> ( <i>H. C.a.</i> )	Text 2
Text 9 <sup>p</sup> ( <i>H. C.b.</i> )	Text 6
Text 10 ( <i>H. C.b.</i> )	Text 7
Text 11 ( <i>H. C.b.</i> )	Text 10
(om.)	Text 11
(om.)	Text 12
Text 12 ( <i>H. C.b.</i> ) sq. Latin <i>T</i> text 22	Text 22 <sup>b</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *T. f. 10<sup>f</sup>* and its critical annotation.

<sup>21</sup> *H. 18.*

<sup>22</sup> Superscript *a* refers to the first verse of the respective text; *b* refers to the second or the following verses; *p* refers to a partial text. The texts numbered under *G* correspond to its edition by Hausherr (*H*). The texts numbered under *T* correspond to the present edition. The texts in the table correspond in each row. The information given within round brackets (for e.g., (*H. B.*), (*H. C.a.*) etc.) refers to the sections under which the respective texts are arranged in *H*.

Text 13 (H. C.b.)	Text 13
Text 14 (H. C.b.)	Text 14
Text 15 <sup>p</sup> (H. C.b.)	Text 21 <sup>a</sup>
Text 17 (H. C.b.)	Syriac (om.); Latin <i>T. f. 18<sup>r</sup></i>
Text 19 (H. C.b.)	Text 22 <sup>a</sup>
Text 21 (H. C.b.)	Text 15
Text 22 <sup>p</sup> (H. C.b.)	Text 20
Text 23 (H. C.b.)	Text 17
Text 24 <sup>a</sup> (H. C.b.)	Text 16 <sup>p</sup>
Text 24 <sup>b</sup>	Text 19
Text 26 <sup>p</sup> (H. C.b.)	Syriac (om.); Latin <i>T. f. 17<sup>rv</sup></i>
Text 28 (H. C.b.)	Syriac (om.); Latin <sup>p</sup> <i>T. f. 17<sup>v</sup></i> .
(om.)	Text 18
Text 39 <sup>b</sup> (H. C.c.)	Syriac (om.); Latin <i>T. f. 18<sup>r</sup></i>
(om.). Rif. G. f. 201 <sup>r</sup>	Text 23
(om.)	Text 24
(om.)	Text 25
Syriac (om.); Latin G. f. 211 <sup>r</sup> .	Text 26
(om.)	Text 27

Texts only in *G*: 8, 16, 18, 20, 25, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43.

Texts only in *T*: 1, 11, 12, 18, 23, 24, 25, 27.

**Overview Table and Summary of the Edited Manuscripts<sup>23</sup>**

<i>G</i>	<i>T</i>
<b>A. Preamble and presentation of the thesis</b>	<b>A. Preamble to the treatise</b>
[f. 198 <sup>r</sup> ] The Nestorians who inhabit India, albeit their profession of the Catholic faith, <sup>24</sup> maintain in	The liturgical language of the Saint Thomas Christians in India from time immemorial is Syriac.

<sup>23</sup> In this thematically arranged overview table of *G* and *T*, the numbers ascribed to source texts do not necessarily correspond in each row. The indications given in round brackets, especially under the head *T*, refer to the respective text in the other version in the applicable cases. The descriptive titles attributed to *G* correspond to *H*. The references to folios with regard to *T*, the present edition, are deliberately omitted in this table. The table does not summarize the scriptural verses, which are available in the edited text of *T*.

<sup>24</sup> This statement alludes to the Catholic communion of the Chaldean Church (1553) under Patriarch Yukhannan Sulaqa.

<p>their Syriac books the erroneous teachings of Nestorius, Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia. Mar Abraham, the prelate of the Malabar Church, clings to these heretical teachings, despite his knowledge in both the Catholic and Nestorian faith [=he is not ignorant]. He violated his promise made in Goa [in 1585 during the third provincial council] to correct the Syriac books. In his heart, he is not Catholic. My duty is to translate the Syriac texts suspected of heresy, which I copied stealthily from the public books in use in Malabar. I begin with a brief summary of the heresy:</p>	<p>However, the Syrian bishops, who came as their pastors, introduced among them the poison of heresy, resulting in great damage to their pristine faith, spirituality and divine worship. Although at the moment they have subjected themselves to the Supreme Pontiff, their knowledge in doctrinal matters is not well founded. On account of the carelessness of their pastors, ignorance and dissembling souls, errors persist in their Syriac books, and they proclaim them publicly, in turn corrupting the faith and the Sacred Scripture.<sup>25</sup></p>
<p><b>B. Brief account of the Nestorian errors</b></p>	<p>[In <i>T</i>, this section is integrated into Section C]</p>
<p>[f. 199'] [Mention of the three sources of the treatise:] a) The book of a certain Nestorian [Bar Kaldun Yohanan]; b) the excerpts from the work of Nestorius; c) The evidence confirmed by Mar Abraham's disputations on the heretical questions. Summary of the heresy: In Christ, there are two supposita (human and divine); also, two natures (God and Man). Division of Christ and Jesus. <i>Emmanuel</i>, <i>Jesus</i> and <i>the Son of man</i> signify only human suppositum. Human suppositum is the temple of another suppositum and the abode of the Word of God. The human suppositum is united with the Word of God through charity,</p>	

<sup>25</sup> The preamble in *T* blames the Syrian bishops in general, without specifically mentioning the name of Mar Abraham, for allegedly leading the Malabar Church to degradation. This generalized approach is one of the common features of *T*, the first treatise from Ros.

<p>grace, love and power. The human suppositum is adored and glorified together with the Word. Incarnation is common to the entire Trinity in the same way as the external works of God are common to the entire Trinity. Man is the temple of the whole Trinity. In one Person two supposita are united. Nevertheless, their understanding of Person is:</p>	
<p><b>Text 1:</b> [f. 200<sup>r</sup>] Person (فرد) is merely a figure or image. So, the Union of two supposita (معتقن) is as:</p>	
<p><b>Text 2:</b> "Person of dispensation or conversation". Every action of Christ is of one person of conversation. Union of two supposita in one person realized by will and power. The will of God and man are united in the acts of Christ. So, the Nestorians speak of one person of filiation as if all the actions of Christ are placed together. They reject birth and death to God, but attribute birth and death only to Christ (Jesus, Son, Emmanuel). Mary gave birth only to the human suppositum to which death is applicable. [f. 201<sup>r</sup>] The Scripture is interpolated by them in verses where Passion and Death are attributed to God. They do not employ the word <i>God</i> in the verses falsified by them. They interpret the words of St. Paul (1 Cor 2: 8) in tune with their teachings. For them, Christ is not God by nature, but through grace. Nestorius attributes Godhead to Christ in an analogous way as Moses is portrayed as the God of Pharaoh (Cf. T. text 23). For his crimes, Nestorius was sent into</p>	

exile and his tongue was eaten up by worms. <sup>26</sup> These are not my words, but they are taken from the Syriac books.	
<b>C. Evidence of the presence of these errors in the Syro-Malabar ecclesiastical books</b> <b>C (a) Five scriptural passages falsified in a Nestorian sense<sup>27</sup></b> Nestorius, as said in the Council of Chalcedon, <sup>28</sup> scraped off this entire verse from I John:	<b>B. Five scriptural passages falsified in a Nestorian sense</b> It is said that in the Council of Chalcedon, <sup>29</sup> which destroyed his heresy, Nestorius, scraped off this entire verse from 1 John.
<b>Text 3:</b> [f. 202 <sup>r</sup> ] <i>L. V.</i> 1 John 4:3, <i>P</i> (om.) (Cf. Latin text <i>T.</i> f. 10 <sup>r</sup> ). The verse is not read in Syriac.	<b>Text 1:</b> ( <i>H</i> Text 3) <i>L. V;</i> <i>P</i> (v.l.). <sup>30</sup> 1 John 4:3 Nestorians consider attributing death to God a great scandal:
<b>Text 4:</b> <i>P</i> Heb 2: 9 A certain Nestorian attributed two supposita to Christ.	<b>Text 2:</b> ( <i>H</i> Text 7 <sup>b</sup> ) <i>L. V;</i> <i>P</i> I John 3: 16 They speak of the death of Christ, but not of God.
<b>Text 5:</b> <i>P</i> Acts 20: 28 Denial of Death to God by replacing the word <i>God</i> with <i>Christ</i> . They do not confess that God was born of Mary. [f. 202 <sup>v</sup> ]	<b>Text 3:</b> ( <i>H</i> Text 5 <sup>b</sup> ) <i>L. V;</i> <i>P</i> Acts 20: 28 In Christ there are two supposita: divine (Word) and human (Jesus, Emmanuel). Human suppositum is the temple of the Word of God. Terminological explanations follow: <b>ܡܬܢܒܝܢ</b> = by nature; (Union in Incarnation is not by nature) but <b>ܡܬܠܝܡܡܬܐ</b> (by grace and love).
<b>Text 6:</b> <i>P</i> Phil 2: 6 Jesus, the temple of God, is <i>similar</i> to, not <i>equal</i> to God.	<b>Text 4:</b> ( <i>H</i> Text 6 <sup>b</sup> ) <i>L. V;</i> <i>P</i> Phil 2: 6

<sup>26</sup> This concluding comment in *G* confirms that Ros had read the Syriac sources refer to the punishments inflicted on Nestorius. See George A. Bevan, "The Last Days of Nestorius in the Syriac Sources", *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies* 7 (2007): 39–54, here 43–45.

<sup>27</sup> The original title in *G* reads: "Quinque Sacrae Scripturae loca, Nestorii Haeresi Depravata, in Syriacis exemplaribus D. Thomae Fidelium reperta". *G.* f. 202<sup>r</sup>. See appendix 3.

<sup>28</sup> Chalcedon [*sic*] (pro.) Ephesus.

<sup>29</sup> Chalcedon [*sic*] (pro.) Ephesus.

<sup>30</sup> *T* always cites verses first from *L. V* then from *P*.

	[Terminological explanations follow concerning the words ܩܕܝܫ and ܩܕܝܫܐ. The meaning of ܩܕܝܫܐ is demonstrated on the authority of the Gospel according to John 5: 18]
<b>Text 7:</b> <i>P</i> I John 3: 16 They replaced <i>God's</i> love with <i>his</i> love; his = human suppositum.	<b>Text 5:</b> ( <i>H</i> Text 4) <i>L. V</i> ; <i>P</i> Heb 2: 9 The Nestorians erroneously construct their interpretation on the authority of St. Paul.
<b>Text 8:</b> <i>L. VI</i> John 5: 8, <i>P</i> (om). [f. 203 <sup>r</sup> ] The verse is not read in Syriac.	
<b>C. (b) Theological formulas tainted with Nestorianism</b>	<b>C. Theological formulas tainted with Nestorianism</b> According to their erroneous teaching, there are two Sons. Two supposita (Word and Jesus) are united in one person. All the actions of Christ are to be of the one person of two supposita and of His life. This is expressly said in a treatise on Incarnation by Bar Kaldun Yohanan, their doctor. Possibly not all the Nestorian Syrians are reduced to the faith of the Catholic Church. If it be true that their pastors have confessed the Catholic faith of the Roman Church, why have then they not removed the pest of heresy from their books? Although the Saint Thomas Christians do not mention the name of Nestorius and his accomplices, still their books abound in their heresy. These books are from Babylon and Simon Sulaqua <sup>31</sup> is their head, of whom I know

<sup>31</sup> The ruling Chaldean patriarch in 1586 was Shimun IX Denkha (r. 1580–1600). Simon [Shimun VIII] Yohannan Sulaqa was martyred in 1555.

	nothing of certain. These books and their doctors lead to great ignorance. I cite below what I could collect from the books of a few authors:
<b>Text 9:</b> [f. 203 <sup>v</sup> ] Denial of death to God on the authority of the Apostles and the Gospels. Mary as Mother of Christ. “We do not state that Mary gave birth to God”. She gave birth only to Christ who died in the body. The suppositum of the Word is not sent. [The following text is attached]:	<b>Text 6:</b> ( <i>H</i> Text 9 <sup>p</sup> ) Two supposita in Christ. “...On account of these reasons, we see none of the holy Apostles who has called the Virgin, the Mother of God. We too do not challenge the apostolic position by any means”.
This text is copied from the book of an old Malabar priest who is not heretic but ignorant. <sup>32</sup> In public sermons, however, the Malabar priests call Mary the Mother of God. Nevertheless, in the private books of Mar Abraham and others, which I have not yet seen, might carry heretical statements.	<b>Text 7:</b> ( <i>H</i> Text 10) They affirm that the Union of the one Person of Filiation is accidental, and it is explicitly stated in the treatise of Bar Kaldun Yohanan:
<b>Text 10:</b> [f. 204 <sup>r</sup> ] In Christ there are two hypostases and their Union is one of honour. Mary brought forth Christ, the human suppositum, whose body is a dwelling place for the glory of the Father. مهلبي حتى تصدقوا به. سمع قديس وسيدنا تقيس	<b>Text 8:</b> ( <i>H</i> Text 2) Two supposita, human and divine in Christ. Their works [will] of each, God and Man, are concurred in the acts of Christ.
<b>Text 11:</b> For them, Christ is God, but Jesus (Emmanuel) is the temple of God. Christ is God with two natures (حسب), two hypostases (تفصيل) and one representation (قديس). [f. 204 <sup>v</sup> ]	<b>Text 9:</b> ( <i>H</i> Text 1 <sup>a</sup> ) According to their doctor, Person (قديس) is all about accidental Union in Incarnation and not substantial. Person is only a figure or image.
<b>Text 12:</b> He illuminated the lamp of His human suppositum by the glory of the divine suppositum. Cf. <i>G</i> text 10; <i>T</i> text 22.	<b>Text 10:</b> ( <i>H</i> Text 11) In Christ God, there are two natures (حسب), two hypostases (تفصيل) and one person (قديس).

<sup>32</sup> Note how Ros gives room for the benefit of ignorance when he refers to the Malabar priests.





<p><b>Text 20:</b> By the indwelling of the Word in our humanity, our nature is saved through the son from Mary.</p>	<p><b>Text 18:</b> You made Christ the Lord of everything created and provided him with sublime rank. By means of apparition, his mystery is revealed to his servants. The Word from You dwells in Him by love. Who would not be afraid of his judgement at the end of the time?</p>
<p><b>Text 21:</b> Mary became the mother and handmaid of Jesus, by carrying in her womb the temple of God the Word.</p>	<p><b>Text 19:</b> I saw the name of Your substance (ܡܫܝܚܐ) in Christ as in temple.</p>
<p><b>Text 22:</b> [f. 206<sup>v</sup>] The Word from Father put on Jesus, son of David, and made him Lord and Judge.</p>	<p><b>Text 20:</b> (<i>H</i> Text 22<sup>p</sup>) Lazarus of Bethany heard the voice of the Son and he responded: “here I am”, and the graves of the dead were dismayed, and the dead howled, the foundations of the hell were shaken, every creature was astonished by remarkable admiration. What has indeed been done? Behold, the living one calls the dead, and look, the dead responds alive, then the will taught them that it is Jesus Son of David whom the Word from the Father put on and made him Lord and Judge in the high and in the abyss.</p>
<p><b>Text 23:</b> The one who assumed from us the temple built and perfected it.</p>	<p><b>Text 21:</b> (<i>H</i> Text 15<sup>p</sup>) O Lord, your people give thanks to You, since you have showered your mercy before them. You took from our race the Prince of peace because of your love and made him for you a chosen home for the will of your conversation [economy]. And the glorious image of your invisible nature and the beautiful mark of your divinity ...</p>

<p><b>Text 24:</b> the name of God's glorious substance (ܡܠܚܘܬܐ) dwells in him as in a temple.</p>	<p><b>Text 22:</b> (<i>H</i> text 19) He sanctified our nature by the holy first fruit he received from us, and joined with himself in the union of glory, filiation, and domination. [Follows Latin rendition of <i>H</i> Text 12].</p>
<p><b>Text 25:</b> In essence, the body [taken] from us differs from the Word. However, it is equal to the one who assumes it in lordship and power. Hence a union of love, lordship and grace. [f. 207']</p>	<p><b>Text 23:</b> (Rif. G. f. 201<sup>r</sup> (add.) <i>H</i> Text 2) Moses as God of Pharaoh; analogy to Christ as God.</p>
<p><b>Text 26</b> (Cf. <i>T.</i> Latin text, f. 17<sup>rv</sup>): The Angels praise the Father who sent you (the glorious son), the Spirit anointed you, and the Son dwells in you. These men speak of two sons; the glorious one and the one (Jesus) in whom the glorious Son dwells.</p>	<p><b>Text 24:</b> From the verses on the departure of Adam from the paradise. The Word speaks to Adam. [<i>T</i> refutes the verse quoting John 3: 13: "No one has ever gone into heaven except the one who came from heaven—the Son of Man"]. The doctor of the Syrians says:</p>
<p><b>Text 27:</b> Let us confess the eternal Cause (ܠܬܝܡܢܐ), the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit. He sent his Son suppositum (ܡܫܝܚܐ). ("Christ Jesus").</p>	<p><b>Text 25:</b> "The one who descended and the one who ascended in heaven". [Follows <i>H</i> text 26 Latin]: Two Sons: namely the glorious Son, announced by the Archangel, and another son in whom the glorious Son dwells, namely Jesus, who dwells in the Virgin. Follows <i>H</i> text 29, <i>H</i> text 28 Latin and a text that corresponds to the idea in <i>H</i> text 15 (Accidental union by will): in Christ two supposita, Union by love, will and power, not hypostatic union. Follows <i>H</i> text 39 Latin: the followers of Didore, Theodore and Nestorius are winners, who raised the divine suppositum above suffering and death. Follows <i>H</i> text 17:</p>

	Christotokos, priests [in Malabar] sing that Mary did not give birth to the Cause. <sup>33</sup> Mary brought forth Christ (Christotokos). Follows terminological explanations of the words: <i>ܡܪܝܡ</i> , <i>ܡܝܪܝܡ</i> and <i>ܡܝܪܝܡܐ</i> . Mary, is the mother Jesus and Christ, and not of God. Cf. <i>H</i> Section E.
<b>Text 28</b> (Cf. Latin <sup>p</sup> <i>T.</i> f. 17 <sup>v</sup> ): [f. 207 <sup>r</sup> ] Indwelling of Son in the Virgin is by His grace and by His mercy. Forming a man out of you, He united him to His hidden Will.	
<b>Text 29:</b> Conception in Mary by the will of the Lord of all and indwelling in her by love.	
Follows three Latin renditions of Syriac texts. a) The glorious Son sent by the Father came and dwelt in the Son of our humanity. In his Baptism, three supposita were revealed.	
b) We witnessed the supposita of the glorious Trinity [in Baptism]: “the Son [appeared] who dwelt in you, and the Holy Spirit who truly anointed you”.	
c) Mary brought forth Christ, the Son of God, in whom the Word of God dwelt unmingled, the natures are preserved undamaged, and their supposita unmixed, in one form of divinity and humanity.	
[f. 208 <sup>r</sup> ] Introduction to the book of Bar Kaldun Yohanan; disrespectful ideas in it of the Incarnation of the Word. The accidental incarnation is common to the Trinity. Two supposita in Christ united by love. Lifting up of Christ	

<sup>33</sup> Ros corrected this opinion in his latter treatise of *G*, when he came into contact with the Thomas Christian priests. See the notes following *G* text 9.

by some Angel. The afflictions suffered by human nature are not given by God, but through some other cause. I translated this book to Latin. <sup>34</sup>	
Reference to an erroneous sermon of Maris Haudizu, <sup>35</sup> the Babylonian patriarch, in which he spoke about the Son of God as follows:	
<b>Text 30:</b> The Son of God “assumed the human hypostasis (مستغنى)”. These Orientals do not profess the true faith. <sup>36</sup> Their profession of faith is for the sake of gain and honour. <sup>37</sup> The same statement of the patriarch appears in his profession of faith given in Rome.	
<b>C. (c) Worship and liturgical praise offered to the leaders of Nestorianism: Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius</b>	<b>D. Commemorations dedicated to heresiarchs</b>
<b>Text 31:</b> [f. 209 <sup>r</sup> ] Diodore, Theodore and Nestorius, the preachers of truth, “confessed and declared that God did not die”.	<b>Text 26:</b> ( <i>H</i> Latin text (sq.) text 40; <i>G</i> . f. 211 <sup>v</sup> ) Diodore destroyed fear, Theodore interpreted the Scriptures, and Nestorius, a living martyr,

<sup>34</sup> See also Ros, “Information about Mar Abraham”, 287, 288–89.

<sup>35</sup> The text refers to Chaldean Patriarch Audishu IV Yukhannan. During the time of Pope Pius IV, the patriarch made his profession of faith in Rome on 23 July 1562. Cf. Raulin, *Historia ecclesiae malabaricae*, 12 n. b. On the profession of faith attributed to Mar Sulaqua and Mar Audishu, see Herman Teule, “Autonomie Patriarcale, ministère pétrinien et attitude de l’Église d’Orient envers l’Église romaine, *Science et Esprit*, lxxv/1–2 (2013): 65–82, here 80.

<sup>36</sup> In 1611, Ros stated that one of the shared characteristics of the Oriental Churches was their disturbed disposition. Cf. ARSI, *Goa-Mal.* 17, f. 62<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> Regarding Mar Abraham’s conversion to Catholicism (1565), the missionaries in India held the view that the metropolitan had obtained the papal credentials surreptitiously by means of his dissimulating ways and dissembling humility. *D.I.* VIII, 135–36.

	suffered persecution, on account of the envy of Cyril, the agent of Satan.
<b>Text 32:</b> Three approved shepherds: Diodore, Theodore, and Nestorius, who attained victory in the Church.	<b>Text 27:</b> Commemorations offered to Ephrem, Barçuma, Narsay, Abraham, John, Job, Michael and Theodore. Ephrem, the Catholic doctor, is counted among the heretics. The Thomas Christian faithful venerate as saints some men, the contemporaries of Nestorius. These days they do not mention the name of Nestorius, Theodore and Diodore. These lines I stealthily copied from their public books, and I have not seen their private books, except that, while in Goa, <sup>38</sup> the archbishop [Mar Abraham] showed me his private books. <sup>39</sup>
<b>Text 33:</b> The persecutors of these blessed saints are envious and wicked, but the saints are exalted in victory. [f. 209 <sup>v</sup> ]	
<b>Text 34:</b> The three doctors, Diodore won in disputation, Theodore won admiration for his teaching, and Nestorius gave up his life for the truth.	
<b>Text 35:</b> [f. 210 <sup>r</sup> ] Expression of grief over the calumnious oppression of the righteous, who revealed the truth and who “fixed upon God (ܐܠܗܐ) and men as the sign of their faith”.	
<b>Text 36:</b> The enemy by his malice led the soul of courageous Saint	

<sup>38</sup> Mar Abraham was in Goa from April 1585 to participate in the third provincial council of Goa. *D.I.* XIV, 16.

<sup>39</sup> Valignano informed the Jesuit general in 1585 that Mar Abraham, while he was in Goa, had prevented Ros from learning Syriac. See *D.I.* XIV, 104.

Nestorius into heaven, who diligently ran to Christ, despite the snares of his persecutors.	
<b>Text 37:</b> [f. 210 <sup>v</sup> ] The Church applauds the priests who loved Christ, adorning them with praise and glory. The multitude render them worthy veneration for their perseverance in their struggles.	
<b>Text 38:</b> Divine humility and streams of doctrine flowed from the holy Father [Nestorius?]. By means of your fountains, you enlarged the treasures of the Church.	
<b>Text 39</b> (Cf. Latin <i>T.</i> f. 18 <sup>r</sup> ): Vengeance was exercised over those who attribute passion to your suppositum (ܕܢܝܨܐܢܘܬܐ). The followers of Diodore, Theodore, and Nestorius are winners who upheld your suppositum (ܕܢܝܨܐܢܘܬܐ) above passion.	
<b>Text 40:</b> Emperor Constantine's oath to God reflected his devotion to Mar Narsay, Mar Nestorius and Mar Geevarghese. [f. 211 <sup>r</sup> ]	
Text only in Latin (Syriac <i>T.</i> text 26): The praises to Diodore, who destroyed fear, to Theodore, who interpreted the Scripture, and to Nestorius, a living martyr of truth, who suffered persecution inflicted on him by the envy of the supporters of Cyril, the agent of Satan.	
St. Cyril is called the agent of Satan. Ephrem, a Catholic Syriac doctor, is included in the list of the Nestorian saints.	
In the recitation of the Divine office, they slur over the names of the heretics; [f. 212 <sup>r</sup> ] they merely read, sing and recite these commemorations without mentioning the names of Nestorius and his	

friends. They call the persecutors of Nestorius as heretics and reckless sons of error:	
<b>Text 41:</b> “audacious sons of error” (= persecutors of Nestorius).	
<b>Text 42:</b> [the head] of their church is named as the chief of the shepherds, the pastor of pastors.	
<b>Text 43:</b> Their patriarch is called Head of the high priests, Father of Fathers, our blessed and holy Father, Patriarch of the East, the Head of the regions.	
From the book of Bar Kaldun Yohannan: the death and afflictions of [human] nature are not due to the sin, but due to some other reason. In tune with this idea, they interpret the Letter to the Romans <sup>40</sup> and the other Sacred texts.	
<b>D. Details on the moral state of the Syro-Malabar Church</b> <sup>41</sup>	[In T, the related section is possibly lost with the missing folios]
[f. 213 <sup>r</sup> ] A book of trifles and lies entitled <i>Paresman</i> <sup>42</sup> is considered by them [in Malabar] as a sacred book of the church and they use it in every sort of sorcery.	
The priests practise divination using another book.	
They do not practise the sacraments of confirmation and	

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<sup>40</sup> Rom 5: 12

<sup>41</sup> Misrepresented title by H.

<sup>42</sup> On the book called the *Paresman*, see Ros, “Report on the Serra (1603/1604)”, 317. In addition to the respective prescriptions put forward by S.D, the diocesan statutes decreed by Ros in 1606 prevented the STC from possessing and reading forbidden Syriac books, especially the *Paresman* and the (religious) epics of India. See Scaria Zacharia, *Randu Prajina Gadhyakrithikal = Two Ancient Prose Works [The Decrees of the Synod of Diamper and the Statutes of Bishop Ros (1606)]* (Changanacherry: The Sandesanilayam Press, 1976), 118.

extreme unction. They do not consecrate the Chrism. <sup>43</sup>	
They claim that their patriarch is legitimately absolved from obedience of the Roman Pontiff.	
The men from this sect preach wonderful things about Nestorius, and in this Church of St. Thomas, some men, the friends of Nestorius, are venerated publicly as saints (Cf. the notes following <i>T</i> text 27).	
Question of simony is prevailing in this local church. <sup>44</sup> In sacred orders, all minor orders are given together. They receive the major orders also together. The [canonical] age required of ordinands is not respected. <sup>45</sup>	
[f. 214 <sup>r</sup> ] All their churchmen and priests, except a few, are drunkards. <sup>46</sup>	
The question of two faiths: one of St. Peter and the other of St. Thomas. <sup>47</sup>	

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<sup>43</sup> In 1579, Mar Abraham had informed the Catholic authorities in Rome that the Malabar Church was deprived of the holy oil (Chrism) and the equipment to make it. See Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 67.

<sup>44</sup> In 1603, Ros testified that the stipend granted by the Padroado jurisdiction for the Malabar priests had effectively removed the practice of simony from the see of Angamaly. ARSI, *Goa-Mal.* 15, f. 95<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> In 1557, Melchior Carneiro S.J., a missionary in Malabar, had prompted the Thomas Christians to respect the canonical age required of the ordinands, as fixed by the Roman Church. *D.I.* III, 806.

<sup>46</sup> Although *S.D* generally condemned the selling of *orraca* (arrack/toddy) by the Thomas Christians, the synod raised the question of alcohol consumption as a general social issue especially affected to the poor people in Malabar. Cf. *S.D.* Sess. IX, dec. 18.

<sup>47</sup> This allegation is a typical example of misrepresenting facts. The Thomas Christians never spoke of two faiths of St. Thomas and St. Peter, but they preferred to call the customs, traditions and rite of their church as 'the Law of Thomas'. For a general explanation of this concept, see



<p>Mar Abraham leads a very bad life.<sup>48</sup> He did not fulfil his promise given in Rome to reduce his subjects to the true faith. He is not faithful to his oath made in Goa to correct his Syriac books.<sup>49</sup> He is not interested in the care of his Christians; the wolf scatters the sheep. He does not prevent the Christians from participating in the pagan rites. The archbishop cares only for his body. For the reasons mentioned above, he holds the key of the church with great suspicion of heresy. The faithful of Saint Thomas are witnesses against him and they know him well. He pretends himself to be holy and just. His actions, however, do not justify his pretensions. In sum, these complaints</p>	
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Vazheeparampil, “The Tōmā Mārgā: Icon of the Indo-Oriental Identity of the Thomas Christians of India”, 187–210. For the condemnation of the ‘Law to Thomas’ by the Synod of Diamper, see *S.D. Sess. VIII, dec. VII*.

<sup>48</sup> Around the year 1593, several polemical reports from Malabar raised allegations against Mar Abraham against his “bestial and carnal life”, even though the reports in question did not specifically explain in which way the archbishop was leading a bad life. For a report sent to Rome in 1593 by a Maronite Jesuit, Abraham de George, see *D.I. XVI*, 560. Another report sent in 1594 blamed Mar Abraham for leading a life scandalous to the Christians and to the gentiles. *D.I. XVI*, 1035.

<sup>49</sup> This is another misrepresentation contrary to what actually happened in Malabar. Mar Abraham had given his Syriac books to Ros in 1586 for making correction. Most importantly, he publicly anathemized Nestorius and his teachings. See Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation in Early Modern India*, 142. On his public anathema of Nestorius made in 1586, see *D.I. XIV*, 565. For the formula of the anathema, see Jan P. M. Van der Ploeg, *The Christians of St. Thomas in South India and their Syriac Manuscripts* (Rome-Bangalore: Centre for Indian and Inter-religious Studies and Dharmaram Publications, 1983), 13–14. Probably because of the contrary facts explicit in the sources mentioned above, Ros wrote but erased in his introduction to *G* the following sentence: “aliorum enim librorum copiam, nec Archiepiscopus, nec Archidiaconus, nec alii, facere mihi volunt”. *G. f.* 198<sup>r</sup>.

(treatise) should be taken to the pope and Mar Abraham should be deprived of his ecclesiastical rank and his see in Malabar. <sup>50</sup>	
<b>E. Concluding remark on the meaning of certain Syriac words</b>	[In <i>T</i> this section is integrated into the context of the respective texts]
I have correctly and in the Catholic sense explained [in the treatise] the Syriac words ܥܠܡܐ and ܝܗܘܐܡܢܐ. Accordingly, ܥܠܡܐ means <i>cause, God</i> . The word does not mean <i>essence</i> or <i>nature</i> or <i>substance</i> . The Nestorians employ this word instead of <i>God</i> to affirm their dogma that Mary did not give birth to God. Again, ܝܗܘܐܡܢܐ means <i>suppositum</i> and <i>substance</i> , which they replace for <i>God</i> for the same reason mentioned above.	

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<sup>50</sup> See of Angamaly.

## CHAPTER THREE.

### ***DE SYRORUM ORIENTALIUM ERRORIBUS: EDITION OF THE TREATISE***

IHS<sup>1</sup>

De Syrorum<sup>2</sup> Orientalium Erroribus<sup>3</sup>

A. Divi Thomae fideles qui in India Orientali versantur in rebus his quae ad divinum cultu(m) spectant lingua Syriaca perpetuo utu(n)-t(ur). Syros namq(ue) sibi iunxere pastores qui et exitiale haereseum virus<sup>4</sup> magno illis studio p(ro)pinarunt, quo Fidem pristinam amisere,<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Jesuit Order adopted the Christogram IHS, the symbolic monogram representing Jesus Christ, as its official emblem, and attributed to it interpretations as *Iesus Humilis Societatis* and *Iesus Hominum Salvator*. *T* begins on f. 10<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> *T* (prius) Erroribus (del.).

<sup>3</sup> *G* is entitled *De Erroribus Nestorianorum qui in hac India Orientali Versantur*.

<sup>4</sup> Similar ideas are found in the *Annales ecclesiastici a Christo nato ad annum 1198* of Cesare Baronius (1538–1607). Josepho Juvencio S.J. cites Baronius: “Exortus per ea tempora Nestorius, Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus, errorem longe lateque sparsit. Ac licet in Concilio Ephesino fuisset condemnatus, ejus tamen libri, aliorumque eadem infectorum labe, in Armeniam et Persicam conversi linguam, *virus* [italics added] in Syriam, perfidem, finitimosque populos invexerunt”. See Josepho Juvencio, ed., *Historia Societatis Iesu*, 5, II, vol. 1 (tomus posterior ab anno Christi 1581 and 1616) (Rome, 1710), 474. The Portuguese in general were suspicious of the validity of the episcopal consecration of Mar Abraham at his first arrival in India: “Babylonius pseudopatriarcha creaverat Archiepiscopos Angamalenses”. Juvencio, ed., *Historia Societatis Iesu*, 475.

<sup>5</sup> Here Ros portrays the teachings of the Church of the East as “great poison of heresy”.

reru(m)q(ue) spiritualiu(m), diviniq(ue) cultus, incredibile fecere naufragium.<sup>6</sup> Divina tamen benignitate effectu(m) est, ut resipiscerent tandem et summo Pontifici subderent(ur).<sup>7</sup> Caeterum quia divinaru(m) reru(m) scientia non ita callent. P(ro)pri(am) ignorantia(m),<sup>8</sup> seu propter pastorum incuriam, vel finctum<sup>9</sup> animu(m), evenit, ut hucusq(ue) in ipsorum libris pristinae haereses litteris sint eratae, et omnino illibate retineant(ur).<sup>10</sup> Imo et publice decante(n)tur. Pervenit autem haec fidei corruptio<sup>11</sup> usq(ue) ad sacraru(m) litterarum corruptionem.<sup>12</sup>

B. Quae et eo incepit tempore quo conciliu(m) Chalchedonense<sup>13</sup> celebrandum erat, unde et eo in concilio, dicit(ur) Nestorium ex p(rimer)a Epistola Ioannis eas verba abstulisse,<sup>14</sup> quibus

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<sup>6</sup> Ros accuses the Syrian bishops of leading the STC to the stated degradation (naufragium) of their faith.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. G. f. 198<sup>r</sup>. Ros here implies the Catholic communion of the Chaldeans (1553). Independent of this ecumenical rapprochement, some of the traditions of the Latin Church were introduced among the STC in the first Synod of Angamaly (1583). The third provincial council of Goa (1585) began to impose the Padroado jurisdictional rights over the Malabar Church. On the first Synod of Angamaly, see Francisco de Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado a Jesu Christo*, vol. 2, 1 (conquista), 2 (division), 90 (paragraph), 125; *D.I.* XII, 826. For the decisions of the third provincial council of Goa, see *BPPA*, 1, 75.

<sup>8</sup> According to *S.D.*, the faith of the ignorant was corrupted by the Syriac books in Malabar. *S.D.* Sess. III, dec. 14.

<sup>9</sup> Alternative form of *fictus* (fort.).

<sup>10</sup> *S.D.* attributed two 'Nestorian' motives behind the alleged falsification of the Syriac scripture: a. to take away the verses that explicitly contradicted their errors; b. to interpolate the passages so as to make them acceptable in terms of their theology. The synod accused the Syrian bishops of following the same strategy among the STC. See. *S.D.* Sess. III, dec. 3. In line with this accusation, the synod ordered that all the Syriac books found in Malabar be corrected and restored "according to the purity and truth of the [Latin] Vulgar Edition used by the holy mother Church". *S.D.* Sess. III, dec. 2 and 3.

<sup>11</sup> For another reference in *S.D.* to the suspicious books that corrupted the ignorant, see *S.D.* Sess. III, dec. 14.

<sup>12</sup> corruptionem (p.c., s.l.).

<sup>13</sup> *TG* Chalchedonense [*sic*] (pro) Ephesinum. *S.D.* corrects the error and stated that the first Council of Ephesus (431 AD) had condemned the "diabolical heresy of the Nestorians". See. *S.D.* Sess. III, dec. 20. Different rendition of this idea is found in G. f. 202<sup>r</sup> (Introduction to *H* text 3).

<sup>14</sup> Ros makes here a hypothesis (*TG* dicitur).

aperte ipsius haeresis demoliebat(ur).<sup>15</sup> Sunt autem haec: *Omnis spiritus qui solvit*<sup>16</sup> *Iesum, ex Deo non est, et hic est Antichristus.*<sup>17</sup> Et<sup>18</sup> eorum loco haec sunt substituta ut patet ex syriaco exemplari:

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<sup>15</sup> aperte ipsius haeresis demoliebatur (prem.).

<sup>16</sup> *G* dividit (pro.) *T* solvit.

<sup>17</sup> *L. V.* 1 John 4: 3. Ros translates this verse from *L. V* to Syriac in *G* (*H* text 3) to demonstrate that *P* does not include it. Both *G* and *T*, with an apologetic accent, state that this verse is not found in *P*. Cf. *G*. f. 202<sup>r</sup>; *T*. f. 10<sup>r</sup>. *L. V.* (v.l.) of 1 John 4: 3: “*omnis spiritus qui solvit Iesum ex Deo non est: et hic est Antichristus.*” See *N.I.C.T.* 622. *S.D* blamed the ‘Nestorians’ for rejecting 1 John as a canonical book on the alleged ground that its author was not the Apostle John. See *S.D.* Sess. III, dec. 14. For a (v.l.) of 1 John 4: 3 from an eastern manuscript of *P*, see *N.I.C.T.* 622. Ros strategically presents this text as a crucial evidence against the Christological position attributed to the ‘Nestorians’. The rendition of *H* text 3 (*G*. f. 202<sup>r</sup>) deliberately employed the word *dividit* and its Syriac equivalent ܕܝܕܝܬ (to divide, to separate etc.) in the place of *solvit*. The verb *dividit* in *G* polemically functions as a strong attack against the classical precepts of the ‘Nestorians,’ who are generally accused of *dividing* Jesus. In this case, Ros can also be accused of subtly interpolating scriptural verses for polemical purposes. *T*, however, reproduced the exact verse from *L. V* maintaining the verb *solvit*. For an apologetic interpretation of the word *solvit* in terms of *dividit*, presented against the three reportedly heretical traditions of the early centuries, see Angelo Paciuchelli O.P., *Discursus Morales de Passione Domini Nostri Iesu Christi*, trans. Leonardum Messen (Monachii: Ioannis Jaecklin, 1681), discursus IX, 235. I cite here the central point emphasized by Paciuchelli: “Omnis Spiritus qui solvit IESUM, id est, dividit IESUM, vel separans Deitatem ab eo, ut Arius; vel carnem ut Manichaeus; vel persona unitatem, ut Nestorius; ex Deo non est sed Antichristus, id est, contrarius Christo”. A similar discussion on 1 John 4: 3 is found in *S.D.* Sess. III, dec. 2, where it states that the verse is left out in *P*, “because it contradicts the Nestorians, who do impiously divide Christ, by making him to have two persons”. In sum, *G* is a strategically edited version that aimed at turning Mar Abraham over to the reconsideration of the pope in Rome, who had accepted him in the Catholic Church in 1565. For the same polemical reason, the secret juridical inquiry held against Mar Abraham in 1596 rendered *solvit* as *seperat*: “qui seperat Iessum non est ex Deo etc.” ANTT, *Tribunal do Santo Officio*, *LL*, proc. 4941, f. 28<sup>v</sup>. The verbal variants for *solvit*, that is, *dividit* (*G*) and *seperat* (*LL*) served the polemical purpose of those documents. However, *S.D* (1599), held after the death of Mar Abraham, retained the standard *L. V* rendition *solvit* in two of its references to the respective verse, as in *T*. See *S.D.* Sess. III, dec. 2. For a comment from Nestorius, presented as his sermon 12, on the division of the divinity and humanity in reference to Christ and Son, see Friedrich Loofs, ed., *Nestoriana die Fragmente des Nestorius*,



2.  $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2$  تېجىنىڭ سۈنئىي

27. **دلمی** 28. **دستو دست دلفی**

<sup>25</sup> *L. V.* 1 John 3: 16

<sup>27</sup> In G, 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 (dist.). Cf. G. f. 202<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> *H* text 7 has verse<sup>a</sup> at the beginning. Cf. G. f. 202<sup>v</sup>: ܡܫܬܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܡܨܚܐ ܕܡܨܚܐ ܕܡܨܚܐ.

<sup>29</sup> *T* (prius.) Dei erga nos (del.).

<sup>30</sup> *T Dei erga nos* (a.c., del.); *T Eius erga nos* (p.c.).

<sup>31</sup> P. 1 John 3: 16. G (v.l.) quod ille animam suam pro nobis posuit. Latin (v.l.) from P: “In hoc cognoscimus charitatem eius [مُؤَدِّي] erga nos, quod is dederit [T dedit (pro) G dederit] animam suam pro nobis”. *N.I.C.T.* 622. Translation in *T* justifies the *P* version. G has (v.l) taken from the standard *L.V.* For a comparative presentation of (vv.II) (including *P*), see Novarini, ed., *Ioannes Expensus, Notis Monitisque Sacris*, 248.

<sup>32</sup> *P* charitatem eius سَفَحِي. *S.D.* reaffirmed this proposition blaming the ‘Nestorians’ for inserting *Christ* in the place of *God* allegedly to deny “God to have died for us”. *S.D.* Sess. III, dec. 3. For the Syriac text and comparative references, see Assemani, *B.O.C.* III, 2, 238–39. According to *G*, the East Syrians substituted *God’s* with *his* to refer to the human suppositum of Christ. Cf. *G. f.* 202’.

<sup>33</sup> sed de Christo (prem.); x̄po (abbr.).

<sup>34</sup> In the corresponding *H* text 5, the reference to the source is given within the Syriac text itself. Cf. *G. ff.* 202<sup>rv</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> L.V. Acts 20: 28–29. (V.I.): “Attendite vobis, et universo gregi, in quo vos Spiritus Sanctus posuit episcopos regere Ecclesiam Dei, quam acquisivit sanguine suo”. N.I.C.T. 360. This citation from L.V corresponds word by word to the one cited by Ros. Jerome’s L.V rendition reads “Ecclesiam Dei”. Jurgens, ed., *The Faith of the Early Fathers: From the Christian writings of the Post-Nicene and Constantinopolitan eras through St. Jerome*. vol. 2, text 1357, 187.

<sup>36</sup> The following text corresponds to *H* text 5.





*Christi*.<sup>52</sup> Christus autem apud eos duo significat supposita: Divinu(m) unu(m), Verbi Dei, humanum alterum, Iesus et Emmanuelis, et quidem de humano supposito dicunt,<sup>53</sup> templum esse Verbi Dei,<sup>54</sup> et adorari cum Deo, et esse filium Dei non حننبنج *naturaliter*,<sup>55</sup> sed بحسنه *per gratiam et charitatem*.<sup>56</sup> [f. 11<sup>r</sup>] Idcirco

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<sup>52</sup> The accusation based on Acts 20: 28–29 is found also in *S.D.* See Sess. III, dec. 3. *S.D.* explains in the same decree the reported reason for replacing the word *God* with *Christ* (in *P*): “because the Nestorians, being instigated by the devil, will not acknowledge according to the Catholic truth, that God suffered and shed his blood for us”. *G* elaborates the issue: “they wrote *Christ* in order to avoid saying that God died; just as they also do not confess that God was born of Mary but Christ. And therefore, (they assert) the Virgin to be the Mother not of God but of Christ”. *H* text 5; *C.M.G.* 146.

<sup>53</sup> *S.D.* Sess. III, dec. 14.

<sup>54</sup> *S.D.* Sess. III, dec. 20.

<sup>55</sup> On the reference to Christ as adopted and not as natural Son of God, see *S.D.* Sess. III, dec. 14.

<sup>56</sup> *TG* employ another set of words to get this sense: بِحسنه (per charitatem). Cf. *H* text 29 (*G*. f. 207<sup>v</sup>); *T* text 18. *G* does not provide a separated explanation of these words unlike *T*, but it reads: “the Nestorians assert that Christ was not God by nature but through grace”. *C.M.G.* 145; *G*. f. 201<sup>r</sup>. The heresy ascribed to Nestorius did not in fact support the extreme position promoted by Arius who attributed a state of beginning to the Logos (= creation of the Logos). Theodor of Mopsuestia in fact blamed the supporters of Arius for interpreting literally the word *made* in Heb. 2: 7–9 and for quickly formulating a conclusion regarding the creation of the Logos. For a summary of this question, see R. L. Wilken, “Tradition, Exegesis, and the Christological Controversies,” *Church History*, vol. 34, no. 2 (1965): 123–45, here 131. Ros, in a way, problematizes the alleged ‘Nestorian’ position regarding the modality of the exaltation of God upon Christ realized by the indwelling of the Logos accompanied by grace and love. Anyhow, these ideas are traceable in the teachings of Theodor of Mopsuestia. See Aloys Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition* (Atalanta: John Knox Press, 1975), 359; George. A. Bevan, “The Case of Nestorius: Ecclesiastical Politics in the East 428–451” (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2005), 65. About the reference to the accidental union of incarnation of love and power, see *S.D.* Sess. III, dec. 14.



[illegible]

<sup>78</sup> The final verse from ၁၈ onwards in Assemani, *B.O.C.* III, 2, 239. Assemani's Latin rendition corresponds to *TG*.

Id est: *Videmus nos quod ipse met*<sup>79</sup> *Iesus propter passionem mortis,*<sup>80</sup> *gloria et honore coronatus est.*<sup>81</sup> *Ipse enim (Iesus) praeter Deum*<sup>82</sup> *pro omnibus gustavit mortem.*<sup>83</sup> Quis no(n) videat, Nestorianu(s)

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<sup>79</sup> *G ipsum (pro.) T quod ipse met.*

<sup>80</sup> *G mortis suae.*

<sup>81</sup> *G coronatum (pro.) T coronatum est.*

<sup>82</sup> *S.D* translates the words *praeter Deum* as *besides God*. *S.D.* Sess. III, dec. 3. It is significant to note that in Origen's *Commentaries on Romans* written after the year 244 AD and its redaction by Rufinus of Aquileia (344/345–411 AD) maintained, in a cross-reference to Heb 2: 9, exactly the same sense of words, *praeter Deum*, which Rufinus rendered in Latin as *sine Deo*. Certainly, Origen made use of a version of the manuscript of the *Letter to the Hebrews*, which was closer to *P* version cited by Ros. See Jurgens, *The Faith of the Early Fathers*, vol 1, text 498, 209 n. 2. For a comment on the interpretative changes occurred in the manuscript tradition of *P*, see Reinhart Ceulemans, "The Septuagint and Other Translations", in eds. Paul M. Blowers and Peter W. Martens in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Biblical Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 33–54, here 49. On the specific question raised by Ros concerning the alleged interpolation of Heb 2: 9 by the East Syrians, see Brock, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition*, 35.

<sup>83</sup> This text corresponds to *H* text 4. Cf. *G. f.* 202<sup>f</sup>. *P* (v.l) of Heb 2: 9: "Videmus nempe ipsum Ieschuva propter passionem mortis sue, gloriam et honorem ipsius capiti impositum: nam Deus ipse per gratiam suam pro omnibus gustavit mortem". *N.I.C.T.* 568. Although this verse maintains *per gratiam suam* (= *Dei*), *gratia Dei* is missing in *P* source used by Ros. It is important to note that *P* edition by George Lamsa does not carry "*in his grace [per gratiam suam]*" in the respective verse. This is a strong point to demonstrate that Ros made use of one of the eastern versions of *P* available in Malabar. The edition of Lamsa reads: "We see that he is Jesus (who humbled himself to be a little lower than the angels), through his suffering and his death, but now he is crowned with glory and honour; for he tasted death for the sake of everyone but [*praeter*] God". Certainly, Lamsa's translation corresponds to *TG*, especially regarding the second part of the verse emphasized by Ros. The section that I placed within round brackets in Lamsa's rendition constitutes the first part of the verse Heb 2: 9. On this point, *S.D* accused the Syrians of interpolating the *Letter to the Hebrews* allegedly with a view to making a difference of persons in Christ. *S.D.* Sess. III, dec. 3. On this issue, Assemani mentioned the historical circumstances in which the 'Nestorians' wanted to retouch this particular scriptural verse. Cf. Assemani, *B.O.C.* III, 2, 239.

quempiam, Pauli Verbis,<sup>84</sup> sua(m) voluisse struere opinione(m) seu potius hearesim.<sup>85</sup>

C. [f. 11<sup>v</sup>]<sup>86</sup> Et ne viderent(ur) duos asserere filios, p(rae)dictis erroribus addiderunt: duo illa supposita Verbi et Iesus uniri in una persona. Apellant autem personam, omnem Christum<sup>87</sup> Dominum<sup>88</sup> vitam, omniaq(ue) ipsius opera,<sup>89</sup> ut expresse dicit Doctor<sup>90</sup> quidam haereticus ipsorum in quodam tractatu de Incarnatione Verbi<sup>91</sup> et patebit inferius. Totum na(m)q(ue) libru(m) legi et intellexi, ex quo multa desumpsi, quae scriba(m) inferius. Ut cognoscant Ecclesiae Romanae cultores, syros Nestorii sectatores, forte non omnino fidei catholicae subesse, sed ore tenus si enim sciu(n)t horu(m) pastores,

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<sup>84</sup> In G, Ros cited 1 Cor. 2: 8 and blamed the ‘Nestorians’ for avoiding the confession of the Passion and Death of God by interpreting the words of Paul in tune with their dogma. Cf. G. f. 200<sup>r</sup>. Ros’ interpretation of the ‘Nestorian’ position reads: Paul attributed to Christ a divine person not in reality but only in name, as if the apostle extolled only the *name* of the passion. For Augustine of Hippo’s interpretation of 1 Cor. 2: 8, used largely against the ‘Nestorians’, see Jurgens, *The Faith of the Early Fathers: From the writings of Saint Augustine to the end of the Patristic Age*, vol. 3, text 1651, 73. Responding to the same question, Vincent of Lerins (d. ca. 450 AD) wrote specifically against the ‘Nestorians’: “that is the reason why it can be divinely written both that the Son of Man descended from heaven and that the Lord of Majesty was crucified on earth”. Jurgens, *The Faith of the Early Fathers*, vol. 3, text 2171, 263–64.

<sup>85</sup> G (v.l.) Latin rendition. S.D. formulated a statement to address the question of the Passion and Death of the glorious Son: “man, because he suffered hunger and thirst, was weary in the way, was fastened with nails to the cross, and died thereon: equal to the eternal Father as to the Divinity, and inferior to the Father as to the humanity, and mortal, and passible”. S.D. Sess. III, dec. 1, cha. 2. G accused a ‘certain Nestorian’ of placing in Christ, on the alleged authority of St. Paul, two supposita, and in turn, of dividing Jesus from God and God from Jesus. Cf. G. f. 202<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>86</sup> G the content of this folio (om.).

<sup>87</sup> Xp̄u (abbr.).

<sup>88</sup> Dnu (abbr.).

<sup>89</sup> (Alterum) ipsius (del.).

<sup>90</sup> (Trib.) Bar Kaldun Yohanan (sec. X). On Kaldun, see Anton Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Weber, 1922), 240. The thoughts of Evagrius of Pontus (345 AD–399 AD), who is condemned as origenist, are reflected in the writings of Bar Kaldun Yohanan. See Jurgens, ed., *The Faith of the Early Fathers*, vol. 2, 1.

<sup>91</sup> (Trib.) Bar Kaldun Yohanan.

fidem catholicam Romanae Ecclesiae qua(m) professi su(n)t veram esse, cur<sup>92</sup> haeresis huius pestem ex Ecclesiae libris nullatenus abolendam existimaru(n)t?<sup>93</sup> Etsi eni(m) hi qui Divi Thomae fideles cognomina(n)t(ur), nullam prorsus heareticorum, Nestorii et caeterorum velint habere mentionem. Nihilominus, illorum pestilens doctrina hucusq(ue) in ipsorum libris viget. Taceo enim de his qui sunt Babylone,<sup>94</sup> et de Simone Sulaca qui est caput eorum,<sup>95</sup> de quibus nihil certi habeo. Solum assero q(uod) si eosdem habeant libros, et doctors eosdem, minime p(ro)batos, secundum fidei Catholicae normam. Plane<sup>96</sup> si non affectu et intellectu psaltim<sup>97</sup> crassa ignora(ntia) pristinis erroribus adhaerere. Subscribam q(uam) pauca, que ex horum libris desumere potui. [f. 12] Ex quadam ep(isto)la(m) in certi auctoris.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> (Prius) ex (del.)

<sup>93</sup> This suspicion expressed by Ros is reflected in one of his letters: "I do not know what sort of reduction is made until now among the Nestorians of Babylon, because the same books which are present here are there too, wherefrom they reached here. Moreover, given the enormous number of errors persisting in the books here, it could be inferred that many more errors will be there in their books". *D.I.* XIV, 565 (trans. mine).

<sup>94</sup> In the words of Ros, "what follows could not be in any degree different from the source itself". *D.I.* XIV, 565 (trans. mine).

<sup>95</sup> Ros makes here a factual mistake thinking that Simon [Shimun VIII] Yohannan Sulaqa (d. 1555) was the patriarch of the Chaldean Church in 1586. The ruling Chaldean patriarch in 1586 was Shimun IX Denkha (r. 1580–1600). See Heleen Murre-Van Den Berg, "The Patriarchs of the Church of the East from the Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries", *Journal of Syriac Studies* 2, no. 2 (1999): 235–64, here 253. The Dominican missionary, Ambrosius Buttigieg, who accompanied Sulaqa from Rome portrayed the late patriarch as a martyr. See Beltrami, ed., *La Chiesa Caldea nel Secolo dell'Unione*, 149–50.

<sup>96</sup> (Prius) pristinis erroribus adhaere (del.).

<sup>97</sup> (Gl.) psaltim (fort.) saltem (Saltim).

<sup>98</sup> *G* introduces the following Syriac text in *H* text 9 (= *T* text 6). Cf. *G. f.* 203<sup>v</sup>. In *G*, Ros states that he copied the text stealthily from public books. According to *T*, "from certain authors". *H* maintains that *GH* text 9 (which is extremely polemic in nature) is not from a liturgical book. *H.* 16 n. 4. *G* attributes these verses to a book owned by an old priest in Malabar, who, "because of his ignorance gave much weight to them". Cf. *G. f.* 203<sup>v</sup>.

٦. **وَنَزَعَ مِنْ عِلْبَتِهِ ٩٩ يُنْزَعُ**  
 وَنَزَلَ مِنْهُ: مَجِبٌ: كَأَنَّهُ نَزَعَ مِنْ عِلْبَتِهِ ١٠٠  
 الْخَصَّةَ: وَمَجِبٌ كَأَنَّهُ نَزَعَ مِنْهُ: مَجِبٌ وَنَزَلَ مِنْهُ  
 بِلَاغٍ وَمَقْبُولَةٍ: مَجِبٌ وَنَزَلَ مِنْهُ: مَجِبٌ  
 مَجِبٌ: ١٠٢ مَجِبٌ: مَجِبٌ وَنَزَلَ مِنْهُ: مَجِبٌ وَنَزَلَ مِنْهُ ١٠٣  
 بِلَاغٍ وَنَزَلَ مِنْهُ: مَجِبٌ وَنَزَلَ مِنْهُ: مَجِبٌ ١٠٤  
 مَجِبٌ: ١٠٥ مَجِبٌ وَنَزَلَ مِنْهُ: مَجِبٌ ١٠٦  
 مَجِبٌ: ١٠٧ مَجِبٌ وَنَزَلَ مِنْهُ: مَجِبٌ ١٠٨  
 مَجِبٌ وَنَزَلَ مِنْهُ: مَجِبٌ وَنَزَلَ مِنْهُ: مَجِبٌ ١٠٩  
 مَجِبٌ ١١٠ مَجِبٌ وَنَزَلَ مِنْهُ: مَجِبٌ ١١١  
 مَجِبٌ وَنَزَلَ مِنْهُ: مَجِبٌ وَنَزَلَ مِنْهُ: مَجِبٌ ١١٢

<sup>112</sup> Ros translated **ܡܨܘܬܐ**, a key word employed in the East Syrian Christology, as *suppositum*. The East Syrians ascribed wide range of meanings to the words **ܡܨܘܬܐ** (but generally understood as the Syriac equivalent to *hypostasis*) and **ܡܨܘܬܐ** (Syriac equivalent to Greek *prosopon*). For an explanation of the terminological question grown up around the key Syriac words, see Brock, “The ‘Nestorian’ Church: A Lamentable Misnomer”, 26–28. Ros employed this text to raise his concern over the reported ‘Nestorian’ position regarding the indwelling of the *Logos* (the Word) in

ܝܥܥܘܕ: 113 ܝܥܥܐ 114 ܕܥܡܐ ܫܡܐ ܕܢܗܘܬܐ 115 ܕܥܡܐ  
 116 ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ  
 [f. 12<sup>v</sup>] ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ  
 117 ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ  
 118 ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ

Id est:<sup>119</sup> *Quis Apostolorum dixit mortuum fuisse Deum?*<sup>120</sup> *Hoc*<sup>121</sup> *nemo potest perfecte demonstrare. Propterea nos, nequaquam*<sup>122</sup> *affirmamus*<sup>123</sup> *Beatam Mariam Deum genuisse, ne dicant nobis*<sup>124</sup> *Iudaei et pagani,*<sup>125</sup> *Deum quoq(ue) mortuu(m) fuisse,*<sup>126</sup> *si ipsu(m) genuit.*<sup>127</sup> *Ille eni(m) qui gignitur moritur,*<sup>128</sup> *sed asserimus genuisse Christum*<sup>129</sup> *qui est Deus, et mortuus fuit*<sup>130</sup> *in corpore,*<sup>131</sup> *vivit vero*<sup>132</sup> *in spiritu. Angelus quoq(ue) in die annu(n)tiationis ita eam compellat.*<sup>133</sup> *Ecce*<sup>134</sup> *concupies et paries filium et vocabis nomen eius Iesum, et iterum natus est enim hodie vobis salvator*

the Union of Incarnation. On the relative question, see Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, 375.

<sup>113</sup> G ܝܥܥܘܕ (pro.) T ܝܥܥܘܕ.

<sup>114</sup> H ignores diacritical marks.

<sup>115</sup> T ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ consubstantiale (trans.); G ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ aequale in essentia (trans). Cf. G. f. 203<sup>v</sup>. On the lexicographical discussion, see T. f. 11<sup>r</sup>, where Ros compares the words ܕܥܡܐ and ܕܥܡܐ.

<sup>116</sup> G the final verse that begins with ܕܥܡܐ (om.).

<sup>117</sup> Reference to *Theotokos*: ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ.

<sup>118</sup> Regarding this passage, G states that it is from the book of an old priest in Malabar.

<sup>119</sup> Id est (mg.).

<sup>120</sup> G Deum fuisse mortuum (transp.).

<sup>121</sup> G Istud (pro.) T Hoc.

<sup>122</sup> G non (pro) T nequaquam.

<sup>123</sup> G Propter hoc non affirmamus nos (transp.).

<sup>124</sup> G nobis (om.).

<sup>125</sup> G quodsi genuit Deum (traï).

<sup>126</sup> G etiam Deum mortuum (traï).

<sup>127</sup> G quodsi genuit Deum (traï.); T si ipsu(m) genuit (traï.).

<sup>128</sup> G (v.l) enim moritur qui gignitur.

<sup>129</sup> xpm (abbr.).

<sup>130</sup> G fuit mortuus (transp.).

<sup>131</sup> G [corpore] et (add.).

<sup>132</sup> G vero (om.).

<sup>133</sup> G (v.l) Sic etiam angelus, in tempore annuntiationis, affatus est eam.

<sup>134</sup> G [Ecce] enim (add.).

<sup>135</sup> Lk 1: 31; G et iterum natus est enim hodie vobis salvator qui est Dominus Christus (om.).



*qui est Dominus Christus,*<sup>135</sup> *et*<sup>136</sup> *Ioannes dixit*<sup>137</sup> *factu(m) est conviviu(m) in Cana*<sup>138</sup> *Galileae, et erat mater Iesu ibi,*<sup>139</sup> *et non dixit, ibi erat mater Dei.*<sup>140</sup> *Insuper dicit*<sup>141</sup> *Paulus:*<sup>142</sup> *misit*<sup>143</sup> *Deus filiu(m) suum, et factus est ex muliere,*<sup>144</sup> *et non dixit,*<sup>145</sup> *misit Deus Deum. Neq(ue)*<sup>146</sup> *misit Deus Verbum*<sup>147</sup> *q(uod) est ab ipso,*<sup>148</sup> *suppositum enim*<sup>149</sup> *Verbi non mittit(ur), quoniam est patri consubstantialit*<sup>150</sup> *et ipso caeli et terra pleni sunt.*<sup>151</sup> *Iterum, quia conspicimus, Apostoloru(m) Beatoru(m) neminem Virginem Dei genitricem apellasse, nos quoq(ue) minime refellimus.*<sup>152</sup>

Haec<sup>153</sup> in Epistola quadam reperi scripta, post testimonia aliqua sacrae scripturae, quibus videbat(ur), convi(n)ci Iesum suppositu(m) esse humanu(m), non vero suppositu(m) Verbi Dei, duo na(m)q(ue) in Christo<sup>154</sup> comminiscu(n)t(ur), supposita alteru(m) hominis, alteru(m)

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<sup>136</sup> G et (om.).

<sup>137</sup> G autem [dicit] (add.).

<sup>138</sup> T Catna [sic] (pro) Cana (corr.). T Cana (scripsi).

<sup>139</sup> John 2: 1.

<sup>140</sup> G mater Dei inventa est ibi (v.l.).

<sup>141</sup> G Insuper dicit (om.).

<sup>142</sup> G [Paulus] quoque (add.).

<sup>143</sup> G [misit,] inquit (add.).

<sup>144</sup> Gal 4: 4. T text 6 refers to three biblical verses which present Mary not as *Theotokos*, but as ‘the Mother of Jesus’ (Lk 1: 31; John 2: 1) and of ‘the Son of God’ (Gal 4: 4). Although Nestorius did not categorically oppose the use of *Theotokos*, he urged his followers not to make a goddess of the virgin. Friedrich Loofs, *Nestorius and His Place in the History of Christian Doctrine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914), 32. For the response from Nestorius on the question of *Theotokos*, see Loofs, ed., *Nestoriana die Fragmente des Nestorius*, 251.

<sup>145</sup> G ait (pro) T dixit.

<sup>146</sup> G Non enim (pro. add.) T neque.

<sup>147</sup> G Verbum suum (v.l.).

<sup>148</sup> G [quod] est ab ipso (om.); G quia (pro) T quod.

<sup>149</sup> G enim (om.).

<sup>150</sup> G est namque patri aequale in essentia (v.l.).

<sup>151</sup> G impletque coelum et terram (v.l.).

<sup>152</sup> G final verse (om.) The missing verse in G reads: “Again, because of this, we see none of the holy Apostles who has called the Virgin, the Mother of God; we too do not challenge it by no means” (trans. mine). Badger addresses this question against the backdrop of the commonly accepted Nicene creed. See George Percy Badger, *The Nestorians and Their Rituals*, vol. 2 (London: J. Masters, 1852), 398.

<sup>153</sup> Here begins the introduction to H text 10. G introduction (om.).

<sup>154</sup> x̄p̄o (abbr.).



Id est: *Absque consortio genuit Maria Emanuelem filium Dei. Ex<sup>165</sup> ipsa formavit spiritus sanctitatis,<sup>166</sup> corpus unitum sicut scriptum est, ut sit<sup>167</sup> hospitium et templum adoratum splendori patris, in una filiatione. Et in<sup>168</sup> principio admirandae conceptionis ipsius<sup>169</sup> univit ipsum<sup>170</sup> (corpus)<sup>171</sup> sibi in honore uno.<sup>172</sup> Et postea.<sup>173</sup> Custodiuntur naturae in suppositis suis,<sup>174</sup> in una persona<sup>175</sup> filiationis unius.<sup>176</sup>*

Apellant autem unam personam filiationis, rem quandam accidentalem,<sup>177</sup> ut patet expresse ex tractatu quodam Ioannis<sup>178</sup> cuiusdam Nestoriani ubi habet(ur), unionem Incarnationis factam fuisse.<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> G quoniam ex (add.).

<sup>166</sup> G sanctus (pro) T sanctitatis.

<sup>167</sup> G fieret (pro) T sit.

<sup>168</sup> G cum (pro) T in.

<sup>169</sup> G ipsius (om.).

<sup>170</sup> G ipsum (om.).

<sup>171</sup> G (corpus) (om.).

<sup>172</sup> G secum in uno honore (pro) T sibi in honore uno.

<sup>173</sup> G Et postea (om.).

<sup>174</sup> G suis suppositis (transp.).

<sup>175</sup> G representatione (pro) T persona.

<sup>176</sup> G unius filiationis (transp.). Distancing from the Latin rendition by Ros in G, C.M.G translated the text maintaining the transliteration of the key Syriac terms: "In the one *parsopa* of one Filiation, the natures [*Ky-ana*] are preserved in their *qnome*". C.M.G. 149 (Italics mine). C.M.G substituted *representatione* (G) with *parsopa*, and *suppositis* (GT) with *qnome*. G raised three charges based on this text: the alleged 'Nestorian' dogma of two hypostases, of the Union of honour and of Emmanuel the human suppositum brought forth by Mary. Cf. G. f. 204<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>177</sup> Cf. S.D. Sess. III, dec. 14.

<sup>178</sup> Bar Kaldun Yohanan.

<sup>179</sup> The following text corresponds to H text 2. Cf. G. f. 200<sup>r</sup>. In this context, S.D affirmed the Union of incarnation: "which unity was such, that our Lord Jesus Christ is God and man, and the Son of God, and the Son of man, inasmuch as he was the Son of the Blessed Virgin; so that the one nature is not confounded with the other, neither did the one pass into, nor mix itself with the other, neither did either of them vanish, or cease to be". S.D. Sess. III, dec. 1, cha. 2.



9. ܡܩܬܝܥܐ <sup>191</sup> ܠܐ ܢܝܬܥܪܐ <sup>192</sup> ܫܬܒܝܬܐ ܕܝܥܝ ܡܩܬܝܥܐ: <sup>193</sup> ܡܝܝܬܒܐ  
 ܕܡܢ ܡܢܟ ܡܝܬܒܐ ܕܝܥܝ ܫܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܩܬܝܥܐ: ܡܢܝܥ  
 ܝܠܡܨ <sup>194</sup> ܕܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܩܬܝܥܐ. <sup>195</sup>

Id est: *Et persona*<sup>196</sup> *non habet*<sup>197</sup> *stabilitatem*<sup>198</sup> *sicut suppositum.*  
*Datur autem*<sup>199</sup> *(persona)*<sup>200</sup> *et accipitur sicut*<sup>201</sup> *sigillum in cera et*  
*sicut*<sup>202</sup> *imago regis*<sup>203</sup> *in numismate.*<sup>204</sup> Proinde non ponunt

<sup>191</sup> Assemani assigns the meaning *prosopon* to the word ܡܩܬܝܥܐ, which appeared in the profession of faith made by the Chaldean patriarch, Mar Joseph II Sliba Marouf (1696–1713). Assemani, *B.O.C.* III, 1, 606. The patriarch himself, as a copyist of old manuscripts, showed a general tendency to exclude all ‘Nestorian’ references in his works. See Parker, “The Ambiguities of Belief and Belonging”, 1441.

<sup>192</sup> *G* ܡܩܬܝܥܐ (pro) *T* ܡܩܬܝܥܐ. Cf. *G.* f. 200<sup>r</sup>. *H* ignores the given diacritical marks in *G*.

<sup>193</sup> Assemani ascribes synonymous meanings: *hypostasis* seu *persona*, to the word ܡܩܬܝܥܐ found in the profession of faith made by the Chaldean patriarch, Mar Joseph II Sliba Marouf. Assemani, *B.O.C.* III, 1, 606. Brock explains how some European translators “have confused the issue even more by perniciously rendering *qnoma* [ܡܩܬܝܥܐ] as ‘person’, as if the underlying term was *Parsopa* (i.e., Greek *prosopon*), thus implying that the Church of the East believed that there were two persons in Christ, in other words the classic definition of ‘Nestorianism’”. Brock, “The ‘Nestorian’ Church: A Lamentable Misnomer”, 28.

<sup>194</sup> Assemani renders ܡܩܬܝܥܐ as *imago*. See Assemani, *B.O.C.* III, 1, 606. Ros interprets the application of this word as follows: “[the Nestorians] understand than the person as nothing other than a figure or an image”. Cf. *G.* f. 200<sup>r</sup>; *C.M.G.* 144.

<sup>195</sup> *G* has two more verses: ܡܩܬܝܥܐ ܡܩܬܝܥܐ ܡܩܬܝܥܐ ܡܩܬܝܥܐ ܡܩܬܝܥܐ ܡܩܬܝܥܐ.

<sup>196</sup> *GT* render here ܡܩܬܝܥܐ as *persona*.

<sup>197</sup> *G* non est (pro) *T* non habet.

<sup>198</sup> *G* *subsistens* (pro) *T* *stabilitatem*.

<sup>199</sup> *G* [Datur] enim (pro) *T* [Datur] autem.

<sup>200</sup> *G* (persona) (om.).

<sup>201</sup> *G* *quaemadmodum* (pro) *T* *sicut*.

<sup>202</sup> *G* *quaemadmodum* (pro) *T* *sicut*.

<sup>203</sup> *G* Regis imago (transp.). According to the East Syrian book entitled *Menra*, “our Lord Christ is only the image of the Word”. See *S.D.* Sess. III, dec. 14. On this book, see Chabot, “L’Autodafé des Livres Syriaques du Malabar”, 618 [2].

<sup>204</sup> *G* denario (pro) *T* numismate. Against the analogical proposition represented in *T* text 9, *S.D.* responds: “for as the form of God does not

unionem substantialem in Incarnationis mysterio, sed accidentalem potius. Sicq(ue) Christum<sup>205</sup> vel Iesum appellant, faetu(m) vel Filiu(m) voluntariu(m), et divinitatis velamen in hu(n)c modum.<sup>206</sup>

10. مَلَكُوتُ هَذَا 207 مَذْهَبُ 208 ذَهَبُ 209 خُوكُ  
 مَذْهَبُ 210 فَتْهَبُ مَلَكُوتُ حَمْدُ. فَتْهَبُ  
 211 مَذْهَبُ مَلَكُوتُ مَلَكُوتُ 212 مَلَكُوتُ  
 جَلْ هَذَا حَمْدُ مَذْهَبُ مَلَكُوتُ مَلَكُوتُ

Id est: *Angeli Domine apellarunt*<sup>213</sup> *te faetum (vel filium) (vel voluntariis) (vel beneplaciti)*<sup>214</sup> *cognomenq(ue) tuum apellarunt, velamina regis, adoramus sacramenta*<sup>215</sup> *tua, involuta(s) sanctitate(s),*<sup>216</sup> *Christe Deus super omnia, duae naturae, et duae hypostases et una persona.*<sup>217</sup>

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destroy the form of a servant, so the form of a servant does not diminish the form of God; because he who is true God, is also true man". *S.D. Sess. III, dec. 1, cha. 2.*

<sup>205</sup> xpm (abbr.).

<sup>206</sup> Ros introduces here *H* text 11.

<sup>207</sup> *G* مَلَكُوتُ (pro) *T* مَلَكُوتُ. Cf. *G. f. 204<sup>r</sup>.*

<sup>208</sup> *G* مَذْهَبُ (pro) *T* مَذْهَبُ; *V* (v.l) مَذْهَبُ. Cf. *V. 83, f. 27.*

<sup>209</sup> *G seyāme* (om.).

<sup>210</sup> *G seyāme* (om.).

<sup>211</sup> *G* مَلَكُوتُ (pro) *T* مَلَكُوتُ.

<sup>212</sup> (v.l) *V* مَلَكُوتُ; *G* مَلَكُوتُ. Cf. *V. 83, f. 27.*

<sup>213</sup> *G* (v.l) Domine, inquiunt, Angeli vocarunt.

<sup>214</sup> *G* no different renditions in bracket (pro) مَلَكُوتُ; *T* (vel filium/ vel voluntariis/ vel beneplaciti/)

<sup>215</sup> *G* mysteria (pro) *T* sacramenta.

<sup>216</sup> [sancti]tate(s) (s.l.).

<sup>217</sup> *T* renders مَلَكُوتُ as *persona* (pro) *G repraesentatio*. *H* suggests, given the confusing translation of the verse in *G*, another rendition of its first part, including the meaning of the neglected words مَلَكُوتُ فَتْهَبُ in translation: "*Angeli Dominum te vocaverunt: pastores infantem te nominaverunt; magi (Persae) regem te cognominaverunt*". Cf. *H. 22 n. 2*. Translation in *G*: *Domine, inquiunt, Angeli vocarunt te faetum voluntarium; velaminis nomen tibi imposuerunt; regem te cognominarunt: adoramus mysteria tua, involutas sanctitates, Christe Deus super omnia, duae naturae et duae hypostases et unica repraesentatio*. *G* summarizes the underlying question: "they call Christ God; Jesus and Emmanuel, not God but the temple of God". Cf. *G. f. 204<sup>r</sup>; C.M.G. 149*. In sermon 15 of Nestorius, he employed the analogy







*et fundavit*<sup>251</sup> *templum*,<sup>252</sup> *habitaculum*,<sup>253</sup> *quod*<sup>254</sup> *et habitat in eo*<sup>255</sup>  
*et est*<sup>256</sup> *una persona*.<sup>257</sup> Et rursum:<sup>258</sup>

15. ܠܬܡܠܚܐ ܕܢܝܢܝܬܐ

ܡܠܬܐ ܕܬܡܠܚܐ ܕܬܐ ܐܡܢܐ ܡܢܬܐ ܬܐ

ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ

ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ<sup>259</sup>

Id est:<sup>260</sup> *Magna gloria gestavit*<sup>261</sup> *Maria in visceribus suis templum*  
*Verbi Dei, et facta est ipsi Iesu salvatori omnium mater*.<sup>262</sup> Et  
*iteru(m)*. In libello praecationis Ninivitaru(m)<sup>263</sup> sic habet(ur):<sup>264</sup>

16. ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ

<sup>265</sup> ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ

Id est: *quoniam*<sup>266</sup> *templum est*<sup>267</sup> *Dei et habitaculu(m) gloriosum*  
*substantiae (divinitatis)*.<sup>268</sup> Et iterum:<sup>269</sup>

<sup>251</sup> G fundatorem (pro) T fundavit.

<sup>252</sup> G templi (pro) T templum.

<sup>253</sup> G hospitium (pro) T habitaculum.

<sup>254</sup> G quod (om.).

<sup>255</sup> G habitatorem hospitii (pro) T habitat in eo.

<sup>256</sup> G est (om.).

<sup>257</sup> G unicam repraesentationem (pro) T una persona. Ros employs the text 14 to interpret and to expose the alleged 'Nestorian' dogma which, according to his judgement, presented Christ as two supposita.

<sup>258</sup> Follows H text 21.

<sup>259</sup> G ܕܥܬܐ (pro) T ܕܥܬܐ.

<sup>260</sup> G literal translation (v.l.).

<sup>261</sup> G sustulit pro T gestavit.

<sup>262</sup> G et ancilla (add.). G (transp.; v.l.): *Templum Dei Verbi gloria magna sustulit Maria in visceribus suis, et facta est IESU, omnium salvatori mater et ancilla*. Cf. G. f. 206<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>263</sup> G Ieiunii Ninivitarum (pro) T praecationis Ninivitarum. Cf. G. f. 206<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>264</sup> T corresponds to H text 24. GH (add.): ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ.

<sup>265</sup> G ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ (pro) T ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ. In Syriac ܕܥܬܐ ܕܥܬܐ means both *suppositum* and *substantia*. Cf. J. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, 15.

<sup>266</sup> G quoniam (om.).

<sup>267</sup> G templum, inquirunt, est (add.).

<sup>268</sup> G substantiae suae (pro) T substantiae (divinitatis).

<sup>269</sup> T corresponds to H text 23. H raises suspicion on the correctness of both the Syriac source and its Latin rendition. Cf. H. 25 n. 1.

17. ܫܡ ܕܠܫܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚ ܡܢ ܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ<sup>270</sup>

ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ<sup>271</sup> ܕܡܢܝܬܐ

Id est:<sup>272</sup> *ille qui assumpsit ex nobis templum, fecit illud* [f. 15<sup>r</sup>] *et fundavit perfecte in omni iustitia.*<sup>273</sup> Et rursum:<sup>274</sup>

18. ܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ

ܡܢ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ

ܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ

ܡܢ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ

ܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ

ܡܢ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ

ܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ

ܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ

ܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ<sup>275</sup>

ܡܢ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ

ܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ

ܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ<sup>276</sup>

ܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ

<sup>270</sup> Although this word appears in *TG*, *T* ignores its translation. *G* renders it as *forte*. Cf. *G*. f. 206<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>271</sup> Ros might have taken this Syriac verse from one of the manuscripts of the book the *Life of Abed Isho* condemned by *S.D.* For the edition of one of its manuscripts, see Paulus Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum Syriace*, vol. 3 (Lipsiae, Parisiis: Harrassowitz, 1892).

<sup>272</sup> *G* (v.1): *Ille qui effect forte templum illud, quod ex nobis assumpsit, et fecit illud, et ex omni iustitiae plenitudine perfectit*. Cf. *G*. f. 206<sup>v</sup>. *T* is close to the meaning of the original Syriac text. Given the confusing translation in *G*, *H* doubts the reliability of the Syriac text itself. See. *H*. 25 n. 1. Anyhow, both *GT* depend on the same source.

<sup>273</sup> Theodore of Mopsuestia held the view that the son of Man was conceived by the Holy Spirit in the womb of the virgin Mary and that the divine Logos dwells in Him perpetually as in a temple. See J. W. Etheridge, *The Syrian Churches: Their Early History, Liturgies, and Literature: With a Literal Translation of the Four Gospels from the Peschito, or Canon of Holy Scripture in Use among the Oriental Christians from the Earliest Times* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans Press, 1846), 55. See the second verse of *H* text 24 for the words ܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ (= *as in a temple*). Cf. *H*. 25; *G*. f. 206<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>274</sup> *T* text 18; *G* (om.).

<sup>275</sup> See ܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ (= *habitavit in eo per charitatem*) in the final part of *H* text 29. Cf. *G*. f. 207<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>276</sup> *T* ܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܬܐ (trans.) inquisitionem.

I < d est: ><sup>277</sup> (verbo ad verbum transferendo) Si *dominatio tua fecit eum*<sup>278</sup> (*Christum*) *Dom(i)num super omne quod factum est*, quis non subiiciet animam sua(m) iugo servitutis vitae eius? Et si sapientia tua vocavit (*eum*) constituisti *eum* in sublimi gradu, quis non confitebit(ur), verum ec(ce) ipsius gradum, et magna(m) ipsius potestatem? Et si absconsionem tuam revelasti servis tuis per apparitionem eius, quis non colliget libertate(m) sua(m) ab omnibus, addicetq(ue) vinculo ipsius? Et si per ipsu(m) [f. 15<sup>v</sup>] propalasti sacramentu(m) magnum Filii et Spiritus, quis non accedet sapientiis, quae absconditae su(n)t in nomine ipsius? Et si ipsum Verbu(m), germen quod ex te est, habitat in eo per charitatem,<sup>279</sup> quis non compellabit *eum*, comprehendentem extremum excelsi et profundi? Et si per *eum* venturus es, ut iudices terram in fine temporum, quis non timebit(ur), inq(ui)sitionem<sup>280</sup> quae fuit per in manus ipsius. Et alio in loco sic:

19. ಪುನಃ ಪರಿಶೀಲಿಸಿ ಮತ್ತು ಸಿದ್ಧಪಡಿಸಿ.

I < d est: ><sup>281</sup> *nomen substantiae tuae in eo (Christo) sicut in templo*  
*vidi.*<sup>282</sup> Insuper alibi<sup>283</sup> sic scribitur:<sup>284</sup>

20. ملائكة يذكرون أسماء الكواكب من السماء<sup>285</sup>

**ملحق ۵** مذکورہ ذیل : ۲۰۱۸ء کے سالانہ معائنات

286 **دنه مه عتد وئك مهه. وئك**

**٢٨٧ قس دذخ دصفا . ذش ذش**

اساتذہ کے تحفہ۔ جامعہ عربیہ اسلامیہ، لاہور

دست کھانہ پر حق و عداوت کے لئے

<sup>277</sup> d est: (suppl.).

<sup>278</sup> *T eiu(m)* (a.c.; del.); *eum* (p.c.).

<sup>279</sup> Cf. *H* text 29.

<sup>280</sup> *T* attempted an alternate (trans.) for **تَمَسَّنَتْ** (=examen) (del.).

<sup>281</sup> d est: (suppl.).

<sup>282</sup> The Latin rendition does not exactly correspond to the Syriac source. The translation from G. f. 206<sup>v</sup> (*H* text 24<sup>b</sup>): *nomen suppositi tui, vidi, qui habitabat in illo (Christo) sicut in templo.*

<sup>283</sup> Ros does not specify the source. Given the content, the text could be from the funeral rites of the Church of the East.

<sup>284</sup> *T* text 20; *G* (om.) except the two verses at the end. Cf. *H* text 22.

<sup>285</sup> Cf. John 11: 1–44.

<sup>286</sup> Cf. 1 Pet 3: 19.

289 288 287  
 ܠܬܢܐ ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ  
 ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ  
 ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

Id est: Vocem Filii audivit Lazarus e Bethania, et respondit et dixit, ecce ego, et com- [f. 16] -mota sunt sepulchra mortuorum, et ululavit mors. Et contremuerunt fundame(n)ta Inferni admiratione eximia omnis obstupuit creatura. Quid enim est hoc quod factum est? Ecce vivus, mortuum vocat. Et ecce, mortuus respondet vivo, et tunc,<sup>290</sup> nutus<sup>291</sup> docuit eos,<sup>292</sup> q(ue)m<sup>293</sup> hic est IESUS Filius David,<sup>294</sup> quo<sup>295</sup> indutus<sup>296</sup> est<sup>297</sup> Verbum<sup>298</sup>

<sup>287</sup> From ܡܪܝܬܐ onwards, the text corresponds to *H* text 22. Cf. *G*. ff. 206<sup>fv</sup>.

<sup>288</sup> Ros ascribes the pronoun ܡܪܝܬܐ to *Daemones* in *G*. Cf. *G*. f. 206<sup>v</sup>. The Syriac text alluding to 1 Pet 3: 19 speaks of the imprisoned spirits of the dead. See the applications of the words ܡܪܝܬܐ and ܡܪܝܬܐ in the Syriac text.

<sup>289</sup> *G* ܡܪܝܬܐ (pro) *T* ܡܪܝܬܐ.

<sup>290</sup> Here begins the (v.l.) of *H* text 22.

<sup>291</sup> *G* Divinus (add.) nutus. The corresponding word for *Divinus* is absent in the cited Syriac text. Cf. *G*. f. 206<sup>v</sup>. For the role of the *will* (nutus) in the Christological position held by Nestorius, see G. R. Driver and L. Hodgson, eds., *Nestorius-Bazaar of Heracleides* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), 26.

<sup>292</sup> *GH* text 22 (*Daemones*) (add.). Cf. *G*. f. 206<sup>v</sup>. *G* Tunc docuit eos (*Daemones*) Divinus nutus (transp.).

<sup>293</sup> *G* quod (pro) *T* quem.

<sup>294</sup> *G* filius David. (om.). Capreolus, the bishop of Carthage (d. ca. 435 AD), responding to the 'Nestorians' of his time, wrote that Christ's soul was united to his divinity at its descent into Hell. For the Latin passage from Capreolus, see John Pearson, *An Exposition of the Creed* (London: Ward, Lock, & Co., 1854). 204.

<sup>295</sup> *G* quem (pro) *T* quo.

<sup>296</sup> *T* quem ind (a.c); *T* quo indutus (p.c). *G* induit.

<sup>297</sup> *G* est (om.).

<sup>298</sup> The expression alludes to the question of the indwelling of the Logos. See Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, 375. *S.D* quotes the *Book of Homilies* which reportedly stated that "the soul of Christ descended not into hell, but was carried to the paradise of Eden". *S.D*. Sess. III, dec. 14. The response from *S.D* to this alleged 'Nestorian' position: "the said Son of God incarnate, truly suffered for us, and was truly dead and buried, and in his soul truly descended into hell, or limbo, to redeem the souls of the holy fathers, which were therein, and did truly rise again from the dead the third day". *S.D*, Sess. III, dec. 1, cha. 3.

*ex patre*,<sup>299</sup> *fecitq(ue)*<sup>300</sup> *eum*,<sup>301</sup> (*Iesum*)<sup>302</sup> *Dominum et Iudicem in excelsis et in abyssis*.<sup>303</sup>

Itaque de IESU et de Verbo sic loquuntur semper ac si essent duo supposita, et nulla(m) unionem nisi honoris, virtutis et potestatis agnoscunt. Unde in libello quoda(m) precum sic scribitur:

21. مَذَلْ لَحْوَ هَوْدَنْ مَذَلْبِي  
 304. مَجْ 304. مَذَلْبِي لَحْوَ هَوْدَنْ مَذَلْبِي  
 306. 305. مَذَلْبِي لَحْوَ هَوْدَنْ مَذَلْبِي  
 307. مَذَلْبِي لَحْوَ هَوْدَنْ مَذَلْبِي  
 مَذَلْبِي لَحْوَ هَوْدَنْ مَذَلْبِي  
 مَذَلْبِي لَحْوَ هَوْدَنْ مَذَلْبِي  
 مَذَلْبِي لَحْوَ هَوْدَنْ مَذَلْبِي  
 مَذَلْبِي لَحْوَ هَوْدَنْ مَذَلْبِي

*I <d est:>*<sup>308</sup> *Domine tibi gratias agat plebs tua (dioecesis tua) quoniam apud illam inclina misericordiam tuam, et accepisti*<sup>309</sup> *e <x>*<sup>310</sup> *genere nostro, ducem [f. 16<sup>v</sup>] (margaritam) (praestolationem)*<sup>311</sup> *pacis (expectatu(r) pacis)*<sup>312</sup> *propter charitatem tuam,*<sup>313</sup> *et*

<sup>299</sup> *G* patris (pro) *T* patre.

<sup>300</sup> *G* fecit (pro) *T* fecitque.

<sup>301</sup> *G* illum (pro) *T* eum. The citation alludes to the verb *made* in Heb. 2: 7–9.

<sup>302</sup> *G* (*Iesum*) (om.).

<sup>303</sup> *T* is relatively faithful to the original Syriac text.

<sup>304</sup> *T* from مَذَلْبِي up to مَذَلْبِي corresponds to *H* text 15. Cf. *G. f.* 205<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>305</sup> Ros provides multiple possibilities in rendering مَذَلْبِي. *H* suggests مَذَلْبِي in its place. *H.* 23 n. 2.

<sup>306</sup> The translation of this verse in C.M.G reads: “You took from our race the Prince of peace on account of your love and made him for you a chosen dwelling place for the will of your dispensation”. C.M.G. 150.

<sup>307</sup> *H* text 2 (*G. f.* 200<sup>r</sup>) renders the word as “*dispensationis seu conversationis*”. Cf. *T* text 7.

<sup>308</sup> *d est:* (suppl.).

<sup>309</sup> *G* assumpsisti (pro) *T* accepisti.

<sup>310</sup> *T* x (suppl.).

<sup>311</sup> *G* (*margaritam*) (*praestolationem*) (om.).

<sup>312</sup> *G* expectatur pacis (om.).

<sup>313</sup> *G* tuam (om.).

*fecisti eum tibi*,<sup>314</sup> *hospitiu(m) electum voluntati*<sup>315</sup> *conversationis*<sup>316</sup> *tuae, et imagine(m) gloriosam invisibilitatis naturae tuae, et characterem pulchru(m) tuae divinitatis, et mediatorem amorum tuos apud Filios suos. Summu(m)q(ue) pontificem, in quo dimissa sunt debita nostra per gratiam ipsius.*

Infra hebdommadam quoq(ue) praecationis Ninivitarum ita habet(ur):<sup>317</sup>

22. ܫܥ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܠܚܒܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ  
ܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ  
ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ  
ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ  
ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ

I < d est: ><sup>326</sup> *Ille qui sanctificavit naturam nostram, per primitias* (est in singulari)<sup>327</sup> (*vel Christum*)<sup>328</sup> *sanctum*,<sup>329</sup> *quem accepit ex nobis* (*Iesum*) *et coniunxit eum secu(m)*<sup>330</sup> *in unione gloriosa, maiestatis*<sup>331</sup>

<sup>314</sup> *G* tibi (= ܬܝܒ) (om.).

<sup>315</sup> Ros employed this text to attack the dogma of the accidental Union realized by *will* (voluntati) and by *love* (propter charitatem).

<sup>316</sup> *G* dispensationis seu conversationis. See *H* text 2 and *T* text 8.

<sup>317</sup> *T* unlike *G* (in alio precum libro) gives the precise source of the text. The translation in *T* is notably scrupulous in comparison with *G*. Cf. *H* text 19.

<sup>318</sup> *G* ܡܕܢܐ (pro) *T* ܡܕܢܐ.

<sup>319</sup> *H* (e.t.) ܡܕܢܐ [sic] (pro) *TG* ܡܕܢܐ. *H*. 24; *G*. f. 206<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>320</sup> *GH* ܡܕܢܐ [sic] (pro) *T* ܡܕܢܐ.

<sup>321</sup> Cf. *H* text 2; *T* text 8.

<sup>322</sup> The second verse that follows *et postea* corresponds to *H* text 12. Cf. *G*. f. 204<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>323</sup> In the commentary of *H* text 12, Ros underscores the word ܡܕܢܐ. See the critical annotation by *H*. 22 n. 3.

<sup>324</sup> *C.M.G* (e.t.) ܡܕܢܐ [sic] (pro) ܡܕܢܐ. Cf. *G*. f. 204<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>325</sup> *G* ܡܕܢܐ (pro) *T* ܡܕܢܐ.

<sup>326</sup> d est: (suppl.).

<sup>327</sup> *G* (est in singulari) (= grammatical note) (om.).

<sup>328</sup> xpm (abbr.). *G* Christum (om.). *T* separately employs, unlike *G*, the words *Christ* and *Jesus* in the interpretation of the text.

<sup>329</sup> *G* sanctas (pro) *T* sanctum.

<sup>330</sup> *G* sociavit sibi (pro) *T* coniunxit eum secum.

<sup>331</sup> *G* maiestatis (om.).



In quodam p(raet)erea hymno de egressu Adami e Paradiso, habet(ur) de IESU Domino,<sup>345</sup> sermo ac si esset aliud suppositum a Verbo. Sic enim introducitur Verbum, Adamo loquens:

24. 2500<sup>346</sup> 2500<sup>346</sup>

Id est: *Lux*<sup>347</sup> *substantiae meae cooperi in*<sup>348</sup> *imagine quae est ex te in fine temporum, et in ea satisfaciam*<sup>349</sup> *peccatis tuis sustinebit passiones, sustinebit cruzem, gustabit mortem, descendet ad sepulchru(m),*<sup>350</sup> *habitans ego in ea.*<sup>351</sup> Sed quid plura. Expresse enim, super illa verba Ioannis, *nemo ascendit in caelum nisi qui descendit de caelo, filius hominis qui est in cealo.*<sup>352</sup> Dicit Doctor quidam Syrus<sup>353</sup> satis impie sic:

25.  $\Delta_{\text{H}_2\text{O}}^{\text{H}_2\text{O}}$  و  $\Delta_{\text{H}_2\text{O}}^{\text{H}_2\text{O}}$  و  $\Delta_{\text{H}_2\text{O}}^{\text{H}_2\text{O}}$  و  $\Delta_{\text{H}_2\text{O}}^{\text{H}_2\text{O}}$ .

I<d est><sup>354</sup>: *Alius est qui descendit, et alius est qui ascendit in caelum, et alibi ita etia(m), Filius*<sup>355</sup> *gloriosus, quem praedicat*

<sup>342</sup> Id est (suppl.).

<sup>343</sup> *T* (prius) honoratus (del.).

<sup>344</sup> Cf. *H.* 18 (v.l.); *GH* Syriac text (om.). Cf. *G.* f. 201<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>345</sup> Dno (abbr.).

<sup>346</sup> Ros employs the words *šmāḥ* (light) and its verbal form *šmā* (to illumine) to bring out an accusation concerning the alleged ‘Nestorian’ position on the manner of the Union in Christ.

<sup>347</sup> Lux (fort.); luce(m) (mut.).

<sup>348</sup> (Prius) in (del.)

<sup>349</sup> Satisfaciam (ras.: s.l.).

<sup>350</sup> For a scholarly discussion on the Catholic position on the verity of Christ's soul really present in Hell and the verity of Christ's body really present in the grave, see Pearson, *An Exposition of the Creed*, 204.

351 (Sq.) (Iesus) (del.).

352 John 3:13.

353 Hereticus (del.).

<sup>354</sup> d est (suppl.).

<sup>355</sup> From *Filius* up to *creavit* corresponds to a (v.l) in G. (=H text 26). *T* Syriac original (om.). Cf. G. f. 207<sup>r</sup>. The Syriac text from G. f. 207<sup>r</sup>: ܠܕܝܢ



Haec etiam ibidem scripta reperi, quae verbo ad Verbum fideliter traduxi<sup>366</sup> anno elapso.<sup>367</sup> Dicit(ur) ergo ibi:<sup>368</sup> *Beata es tu o Maria que in prodigio genuisti Christu(m) Filium Dei, ab omnibus adoratu(m), que(m) spiritus sanctus formavit in te et Verbum habitavit in eo per unionem absq(ue) mixtione<sup>369</sup> custodiunt(ur)<sup>370</sup> naturae sine confusione, et supposita earum, in una persona<sup>371</sup> filiationis divinitatis et humanitatis unus Dominus, una virtus, una*

<sup>371</sup> *G* figura (pro) *T* persona.



Ex his omnibus colligunt B(eatam) Virgine(m) no(n) Dei matrem, sed Christi esse. Audivi ego anno elapso<sup>392</sup> sacerdotes in Ecclesia quada(m) cane(n)tes<sup>393</sup> in laudem intemeratae Virginis haec, *non genuit causa(m),*<sup>394</sup> (*Deum*), *Maria, ut impie asseru(n)t haeretici.*<sup>395</sup> *Nec etiam*<sup>396</sup> *genuit hominem, sicut dixit Arius,*<sup>397</sup> *sed*

<sup>397</sup> Although some similarities and differences could be traced in the Christological positions of Arius and Nestorius, the teaching attributed to Nestorius, contrary to the conclusions of Arius, opposed the changeability of the two natures in Christ. On the theological position held by Arius, see Rowan Williams, *Arius: Heresy and Tradition* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2002); Maurice F Wiles, *Archetypal Heresy: Arianism Through the Centuries* (Oxford: University Press, 2004).

*genuit Christum*,<sup>398</sup> haec in quoda(m) precum libello postea reperi scripta quae postea traduxi. Memini autem eo in loco ubi dicit(ur). *No(n) genuit Deum Maria*, loco *Dei*, esse aliud Dei nomen [f. 18<sup>v</sup>] ܡܪܝܡܐ signifiacans *causam*,<sup>399</sup> quod saepe usurpant loco ܐܠܗܐ, *Dei*. Existimo autem id factum esse ab haereticis, ad decipiendos ineruditorum auditus, et ne piorum hominum aures<sup>400</sup> offenderent, aperta fronte, Mariam Deu(m) non genuisse profere(n)tes. Utunt(ur) ergo verbo q(uod) et *causam* et *Deum* significat. Non vero *essentia(m)* a verbo ܐܘܪܝܬܐ quod sig(nifica)t *fuit*. Eteni(m) ܡܪܝܡܐ est ipsum met verbum graecum *αἰτία* vel *causa* et non deducit(ur) a verbo ܐܘܪܝܬܐ. Insuper quia Syri, *essentiam* non appella(n)t ܡܪܝܡܐ sed ܐܘܪܝܬܐ<sup>401</sup> et ܐܘܪܝܬܐ.<sup>402</sup> In die autem Ascentionis

<sup>398</sup> This text corresponds to *H* Latin text 17. Cf. *G*. f. 205<sup>v</sup>. *G* Syriac text reads: ܡܪܝܡܐ ܕܡܪܝܡܐ ܡܪܝܡܐ ܡܪܝܡܐ ܡܪܝܡܐ ܡܪܝܡܐ. ܡܪܝܡܐ ܡܪܝܡܐ ܡܪܝܡܐ ܡܪܝܡܐ ܡܪܝܡܐ. The crucial Syriac term for *Christotokos* (*genuit Christum*) appears in text 17: ܡܪܝܡܐ ܡܪܝܡܐ. For a critical comment by *H* on the capitalization of the word ܡܪܝܡܐ in *G* (*G*. f. 214<sup>f</sup>; *T*. ff. 18<sup>rv</sup>), see *H*. 35 n. 2.

<sup>399</sup> *T* explains at this point the East Syrian application of the word ܡܪܝܡܐ. In *G* the Syriac text in question comes at f. 205<sup>v</sup> and the explanation of the word ܡܪܝܡܐ comes at the end of the treatise on f. 214<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>400</sup> (Prius) offenderent (del.).

<sup>401</sup> *T* ܡܪܝܬܐ [Sic] (pro) ܡܪܝܬܐ (essence). See Assemani, *B.O.C.* III, 1, 606.

<sup>402</sup> In this polemical and etymological explanation, Ros blames the 'Nestorians' for not employing the word ܐܠܗܐ to represent *God*, and according to his interpretation, the word ܡܪܝܡܐ can have only one specific meaning: *cause*. In his opinion, the 'Nestorians' deliberately employed the word *cause* instead of *God* to state their allegedly corrupted theology that Virgin Mary did not give birth to God. In addition to this accusation, Ros wrongly held the view that ܡܪܝܡܐ cannot convey the meaning *essence* or *nature* or *substance*, but only *cause*. Elaborating further the allegation of heresy, he claimed that the use of the word ܡܪܝܡܐ (*suppositum* or *substance*) in place of *God* among the Syrians had the same alleged purpose of denying the title *Theotokos* to Mary. Certainly, this argument ignores the fact that ܡܪܝܡܐ is often used in the Syriac theological discourses to denote the *divine substance* or *being* which alludes to *Godhead*. *G* briefly summarizes this alleged polemical question on f. 214<sup>f</sup>. While holding the position that ܡܪܝܡܐ and ܡܪܝܬܐ are synonymous terms, *H* explains a confusion created by the texts attributed to Nestorius, in which one can find inept use of these terms without a clear indication of their concrete and abstract senses. See *H*. 35 n. 2. *G* carefully avoids detailing of this extremely superficial treatment of this reported semiotic question. For further clarification of

Deniq(ue) nusq(uam) invenies IESU(M) Deum, vel Maria(m)  
 Dei matrem; sed Christi vel Iesus genitricem, aut matrem  
 benedicta(m) appellant.

D. Tanto honore Syri Nestoris familiae Doctorem suum  
prosequ(n)t(ur).<sup>403</sup> Simul cu(m) Theodoro Mospuesteno,<sup>404</sup> et  
Diodoro Tarsensi ut inter aliam ipsoru(m) honorem concernentia  
istud sit inter eos celeberrimum<sup>405</sup> tantorum divorum  
encomiu(m).<sup>406</sup>

26. מִלְכָּה לַחַיִּים וְעַתָּה שֶׁנִּשְׁמַר אֲדָמָה  
וְעַתָּה הַלְבָב מֵאֵל מִן הַמַּלְאָכִים  
וְעַתָּה דָּבָר [f. 19<sup>r</sup>] מִן הַמַּלְאָכִים

<sup>403</sup> This session corresponds to the introduction to Section C (c) in *H*. Cf. *G. f.* 209<sup>f</sup>. *C.M.G* left out this introduction in his English rendition of *H*.

<sup>404</sup> *T* Mopsuesteno (scripsi). *TG* Mosuesteno (pro) Mopsuesteno. *H p* (add.)

<sup>405</sup> (Prius) encomium (del.).

<sup>406</sup> *G* Syriac text (om.). *G* (v.l.) in Latin. Cf. *G*. f. 211<sup>r</sup>; *H*. 32. *G* provides the information regarding the source of the Syriac text: “*Ad haec, in libro magni Ieiunii [Book of the Great Fast] sic reperi scriptum*”.

<sup>407</sup> Ros wrongly assumes in *T* that the word **هذ** is consisted of the possessive determiner *my*. The latter version of *G* corrects this grammatical assumption. This is an important point to show that *T* is the earlier version of the treatise that Ros had composed immediately after his initiation to the Syriac language.

<sup>408</sup> Diodore of Tarsus.

<sup>409</sup> C.M.G renders **سُكْرٌ** as *superstition*.

<sup>410</sup> Theodor of Mopsuestia.

ܠܚܕܝܢ ܥܠ ܡܘܪ ܡܢܕ ܡܗܠܥܕܡ <sup>411</sup> ܡܠܝܚܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ  
 ܕܝܠܝܝ ܕܝܘܣܬܝܢ <sup>412</sup> ܕܝܕܝܕܝܪܝܬܐ ܕܝܡܝܬܐ  
 ܡܢܕܡܝܬܐ <sup>413</sup> ܕܝܠܝܝܬܐ ܕܝܡܝܬܐ. ܡܠܝܚܐ  
 ܠܡܝܬܐ ܕܝܡܝܬܐ ܕܝܡܝܬܐ ܕܝܡܝܬܐ ܡܢܕܡܝܬܐ  
 ܡܢܕ ܕܝܡܝܬܐ ܕܝܡܝܬܐ ܕܝܡܝܬܐ.

Id est: *Turres fortes et muri*<sup>414</sup> *potentes fueru(n)t*<sup>415</sup> *ipsi*<sup>416</sup> *Beati, Ecclesiae*  
*et*<sup>417</sup> *filiis eius,*<sup>418</sup> *Dominus*<sup>419</sup> *meus*<sup>420</sup> *Diodorus, qui destruxit timores, et*  
*Dominus*<sup>421</sup> *meus*<sup>422</sup> *Theodorus, qui interpretaatus est scripturas,*<sup>423</sup> *cu(m)*  
*Domino*<sup>424</sup> *meo*<sup>425</sup> *Nestorio zelatore veritatis,*<sup>426</sup> *etiam*<sup>427</sup> *martyre vivo, qui*  
*passus est persecutione(m)*<sup>428</sup> *per*<sup>429</sup> *invidiam*<sup>430</sup> *familiae Cyrilli*

<sup>411</sup> Nestorius.

<sup>412</sup> Nestorius is considered here as a living martyr.

<sup>413</sup> *T* ܡܢܕܡܝܬܐ [sic] (pro) ܡܠܝܚܐ. (= Cyril of Alexandria), who is depicted here as the agent of Satan.

<sup>414</sup> *G* murique (pro) *T* muri.

<sup>415</sup> *G* fuere (pro) *T* fuerunt.

<sup>416</sup> *G* ipsiusque (pro) *T* ipsi.

<sup>417</sup> *G* et (om.).

<sup>418</sup> *G* eius (om.).

<sup>419</sup> *T* Dñs (abbr.) *G* Beati (pro) *T* Dominus.

<sup>420</sup> *G* meus (om.).

<sup>421</sup> *T* Dñs (abbr.); *G* sanctus (pro) *T* Dominus.

<sup>422</sup> *G* meus (om.).

<sup>423</sup> *G* scripturas est interpretatus (transp.). The East Syrians always appealed to Theodore's scriptural authority considering him as their greatest exegete.

<sup>424</sup> *G* sancto (pro) *T* Domino.

<sup>425</sup> *G* meo (om.).

<sup>426</sup> *G* veritatis zelo accenso (pro) *T* zelatore veritatis. For a critical reference to Nestorius as the "preacher of truth", See *S.D.* sess. III, dec. 15.

<sup>427</sup> *G* et (pro) *T* etiam.

<sup>428</sup> *G* persecutionem passus est (transp.) According to *S.D.*, the book by Hormisdas Raban depicted Nestorius as a saint and martyr who suffered for the truth. *S.D.* Sess. III, dec. 14. About the book on Hormisdas Raban, See Chabot, "L'Autodafé des Livres Syriaques du Malabar", 618 [= 6].

<sup>429</sup> *G* per (om.).

<sup>430</sup> *G* invidia (pro) *T* invidiam. This idea is also reflected in *H* text 33: "Those who persecuted them were equipped with envy and wickedness of their words". *C.M.G.* 156; *G.* f. 209<sup>r</sup>.

*operatoris Satanae.*<sup>431</sup> *Laudemus Christum,*<sup>432</sup> *qui praestitit iis victoriam, qui maledicta sustinueru(n)t,*<sup>433</sup> *et*<sup>434</sup> *exaltavit cornu Ecclesiae suae,*<sup>435</sup> *per manus ipsoru(m) illi gloria.*<sup>436</sup>

Nec sufficit illis, impios viros laudasse,<sup>437</sup> quam potius aliis sancti et Divum Cyrillu(m) operatorem apellasse Satanae.<sup>438</sup> Sed aliis quoq(ue) sanctissimis viris turpitudinis notam inare(n)t. Etenim post praedicta verba subiu(n)ga(n)t:

ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ. 27

ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ

ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ<sup>439</sup>

[f. 19<sup>v</sup>] ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ<sup>440</sup>

ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ

ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ

<sup>431</sup> *S.D.* quoted Hormisdas Raban who portrayed Cyril as “the priest and minister of the devil”, who is in hell. *S.D.* Sess. III, dec. 14.

<sup>432</sup> *T xpm* (abbr.)

<sup>433</sup> *G* praestitit iis victoriam, qui maledicta sustinuerunt (om.). This idea is traceable in *H* text 34: “*Ecce horum praeclara facinora partaeque victoriae qui propter Christum maledicta sustinuerunt, in creatura praedicantur*”. *G. f.* 209<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>434</sup> *G* et (om.).

<sup>435</sup> *G* suae (om.).

<sup>436</sup> *G* illi gloria (om.). The idea is found also in *H* text 32: “tres probatos doctors, Diodorum et Theodorum cum Nestorio, filio dexteræ gloriæ virtutis suae. In Ecclesia victoriam sunt consequuti”. *G. f.* 209<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>437</sup> two words following laudasse (del.).

<sup>438</sup> For a (v.l.): “*Ecce Cyrillum, sanctissimum virum, cuius opera Nestorius in exilium relegatus est, operatorem satanae apellant*”. *G. f.* 211<sup>r</sup>. Responding to this ‘Nestorian’ source, *S.D.* acknowledged Cyril, the archbishop and patriarch of Alexandria, who “presided in the holy Ephesian council, to be blessed saint ... and his doctrine in the said council against the Nestorians, is holy, and universally received in the catholic church”. *S.D.* Sess. III, dec. 14, 20.

<sup>439</sup> The Syriac text contains the adverb ܡܠܟܐ. However, it does not include the corresponding term (ܡܠܟܐ) for [et] *Abrahami*, which appears in the Latin rendition.

<sup>440</sup> Ros translates ܡܠܟܐ (Noah) as Ioanne (John).

Id est: *Honoremus libenter diem commemorationis sanctorum sacerdotum et doctorum veritatis, Ephrem*<sup>441</sup> *et Barçauṃa,*<sup>442</sup> *et Narcissi*<sup>443</sup> *et Abrahami cum Domino meo*<sup>444</sup> *Ioanne et Iob et Michaele, qui sequuti*<sup>445</sup> *sunt vestigia familiae Diodori, qui manifestavit abscondita. Et a(m)bulaverunt secu(n)du(m) opera(m) familiae Theodori, qui exposuit scripturas.*<sup>446</sup>

Ecce santissimu(m) Ephraem inter haereticos connumerant. Quid de aliis sit, quos hoc loco commemorant ignoro. Scio, fideles Divi Thomae episcopum et episcopos colere aliquos ut Divos, qui eo tempore extiterunt in quo Nestorianu(m) dogma florebat. Scimus quoque usque in p(raese)ntem diem socios Nestorii Diodorus et Theodorus publice ut divos coluisse,<sup>447</sup> nulla Nestorii habita me(n)tionē, cui iam diu mentium remiserant.<sup>448</sup> Fortassis

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<sup>441</sup> Only *T* mentions Mar Ephrem the Syrian (c. 306–73) in a Syriac text. *TG* polemically blamed the ‘Nestorians’ for including Ephrem, a Syrian doctor of the Church and a Catholic saint, in the list of the heretics. *G* reads: “At vero Ephrem, illum Syrum Doctorem, catholicum virum, inter Nestorii sectatores ibidem enumerant”. *G*. f. 211<sup>r</sup>; *H*. 32; *S.D.* Sess. III, dec. 9.

<sup>442</sup> Barçauṃa of Nisibis (Rabban Bar Ṣawma, c. 1250–94) appears only in *T*. The Malabar Church commemorated Barçauṃa the seventh day after Christmas, in addition to every Thursday and every celebration of the Mass and divine office. The priests named him at the final blessing of the Mass. Cf. *S.D.* Sess. III, dec. 9. Mar Joseph (d. 1569), the Chaldean metropolitan of the STC, owned and copied the manuscripts of these commemorations. See Parker, “The Ambiguities of Belief and Belonging”, 1422.

<sup>443</sup> *G* refers to Narsay on f. 211<sup>r</sup>. Cf. *H* text 40; *S.D.* Sess. III, dec. 9.

<sup>444</sup> The corresponding word to *meo* is absent in the Syriac text.

<sup>445</sup> (vid.) *secuuti*.

<sup>446</sup> *S.D.* lists all the Nestorian saints found in the Syriac books. *S.D.* Sess. III, dec. 9. The decree 14 presents another long list drawn from a Syriac book analogous to *Flos Sanctorum*. *S.D.* Sess. III, dec. 14. About information on the *Flos Sanctorum*, see Chabot, “L’Autodafé des Livres Syriaques du Malabar”, 618–19. Chabot makes a complete list of the ‘Nestorian’ saints drawn from *S.D.* Chabot, “L’Autodafé des Livres Syriaques du Malabar”, 620–21.

<sup>447</sup> For a different rendering of this accusation, see *G*. f. 213<sup>r</sup>. *S.D.* replaced commemorations of the East Syrian saints with the Catholic saints. *S.D.* Sess. III, dec. 9.

<sup>448</sup> (v.l.) *G*. ff. 211<sup>r</sup>–12<sup>r</sup>; *S.D.* Sess. III, dec. 9. The synod ordered that the missals and commemorations attributed to the heretics be destroyed: *S.D.* Sess. III, dec. 9, Sess. V, dec. 2.



ergo et aliqui ex his, quos ultimo loco enumera(n)t e familia Nestoris erunt, sicut ipsi met asseru(n)t. Haec furtim, ex ipsoru(m) libris publicis rapui, privatos enim eoru(m) libros non vidi, exceptis his quos Goae mihi ostendit Archyepiscopus,<sup>449</sup> si ergo in publicis scripturis haec reperiu(n)tur, de privatis quid sentiendum? Ex hic unam legi, quem ut [...] <sup>450</sup>

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<sup>449</sup> Mar Abraham of Angamaly.

<sup>450</sup> The document ends here with an uncompleted sentence indicating that the rest of the folios are mislaid in the archives or lost.



## CHAPTER FOUR.

### IMPACT OF THE ROSIAN TREATISES

This concluding section brings together the Rosian treatises and the related documents with a view to demonstrating their inter-connection.

#### (a) *De Syrorum Orientalium Erroribus* (1586)

The first treatise on 'Nestorianism' (*T*) written by Francisco Ros sought to pave the way for ousting Mar Abraham from India, portraying the archbishop as the promoter of the 'Nestorian' heresy among the Thomas Christians of Malabar. This recently identified treatise, despite its failure to achieve its polemical purpose at the practical level, constitutes the central thread of this present work. *T* reflects Ros' scrupulous effort, as a fresh learner of Syriac and as a polemicist in the making, to understand and reproduce the intricacies of the theological formulas drawn from the selected Syriac sources of the Church of the East. On account of this effort, *T* sounds as the most trustworthy document of its kind from Ros, in which he provided different possibilities of rendering the key Syriac terms in Latin. Anyhow, *T* ended up in the Jesuit Archives in Rome without making any significant impact expected of it by the missionaries and the Padroado agents in India, and this fact explains why Ros had to compose another treatise, polemically more focused, in 1587 against Mar Abraham.

#### (b) *De Erroribus Nestorianorum qui hac in India Orientali Versantur* (1587)

In the latter treatise of 1587 (*G*), Ros sounded a trained polemicist noted for a refined strategy employed in its presentation and word

choices against the stated heresy of the 'Nestorians'. Of course, this time his revised title read: *On the Errors of the Nestorians who dwell in East India*. By this crucial adaptation, he kept two purposes in his mind, first, he wanted to redefine in a 'Nestorian' sense the Catholic East Syrians, the members of the Chaldean Catholic Church, who had entered into communion with Rome in 1553 under the captaincy of Patriarch Simon Sulaqa. In the same year, Sulaqa had successfully claimed his ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Thomas Christians of India. Notably, the new definition given to the Catholic Chaldeans in the latter treatise of Ros placed them in the ecclesial family of the *Nestorians*. Second, to its expected readers in Rome especially the pope, the new title meant to convey the impression that the Catholic East Syrians living in India were not much different, with regard to their theological identity, from the 'Nestorians' of Babylonia, because of their shared and allegedly corrupted Syriac books.

Maintaining the polemical spirit of the treatise, Ros cast suspicion upon the orthodoxy of the first two Chaldean patriarchs, Mar Yukhannan Sulaqa (in *T*) and Mar Audishu IV Yukhannan (in *G*). While Ros questioned Sulaqa for leaving the erroneous Syriac books untouched after his union with the Catholic Church, he blamed Audishu for presenting before the pope the 'Nestorian' profession of faith masked as a Catholic one. Placing Mar Abraham in the same line of heretics, *G* depicted him as the 'Nestorian' metropolitan of the Malabar Church, who was not ignorant, as stressed by Ros, but knowledgeable in both the Catholic and the 'Nestorian' teachings. This crucial point purposefully presented in the introduction of the treatise aimed at brushing off every possible question that might otherwise arise from Rome regarding the pardonable ignorance of an incompetent archbishop. Precluding every possibility of the benefit of the doubt, *G* portrayed Mar Abraham as a 'Nestorian' mercenary disguised as a Catholic metropolitan in India. With this polemical rationale, Ros held fast to definite meanings to the key Syriac terms in *G*, without giving room for variant Latin renditions and interpretations.

(c) *Enformação do Prelado do Serra (= E.P.): (1594)*

The *Information about Bishop [Mar Abraham] of the Serra*,<sup>1</sup> generally attributed to Ros but sent by Francisco Cabral, the Jesuit Provincial, to Rome in 1594, was an untimely document considering the friendly ecclesial climate prevailing in Malabar especially that year onwards.<sup>2</sup> In 1594, Mar Abraham had entrusted the Jesuits, in a solemn assembly convoked in Angamaly, with the care of the Malabar Church until the arrival of the anticipated papal order naming the local archdeacon as his successor.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, carefully redacted *E.P* by different hands thematically placed together the important conclusions of *T* and *G* in addition to the fresh allegations against Mar Abraham. This report aimed at persuading the inquisitors in Lisbon and Goa to punish the archbishop, portraying him this time as a negative heretic.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ros, "Information about Mar Abraham (1593/1594)", 283–94. The Portuguese called the Thomas Christians the 'Christians of the Serra', given that they had primarily settled along the mountain ranges (*Serra*) of the Western Ghats in South India. See Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, "Cristão de S. Tomé ou da Serra" in *Glossario Luso-Asiático*, ed. S.R. Dalgado, vol. 1 (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1919), 324.

<sup>2</sup> For a contextual analysis of this report, see Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 140–45.

<sup>3</sup> For the details of the solemn assembly convoked by Mar Abraham in 1594, see Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 158–60.

<sup>4</sup> The conclusion of the report reads: "This is the state of the Christians of the Serra and Malabar and their prelate. Hence one clearly sees the necessity it has for a diligent Catholic prelate and for the remedy by which this one [Mar Abraham] is punished before some greater evil creeps in and the wolves enter, etc.". Francisco Ros, "Information about Mar Abraham (1593/1594)", 293. The report of 1594 in effect portrayed Mar Abraham as a negative heretic, who were normally destined to face death at the stake in the sixteenth-century India. Negative heretics were defined as those who "continued to insist that they were good Catholics, despite the presence of legitimate proof—that is, two credible witness testimonies... to the contrary... This heretic had propagated heresy, either through 'words' or 'deeds,' but when confronted with proof (usually in the form of witness testimony) denied it". See Jane K. Wickersham, *Rituals of Prosecution: The Roman Inquisition and the Prosecution of Philo-Protestants in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 64. For the case of a 'negative heretic' processed at Goa, see Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 281–82.

While the previous treatises from Ros (*T* and *G* with their textual approach) mildly suggested that “it would be best to deprive [Mar Abraham] of his ecclesiastical rank and the see of the Archbishop after having taken the matter to the Supreme Pontiff”,<sup>5</sup> the tone of the report of 1594 turned out to be notably inquisitorial. Since a textual analysis of the selected Syriac sources seemed to be unnecessary and unpromising this time, this detailed report did not include those texts and their Latin renditions. This notable feature does not make it in the strict sense a treatise on ‘Nestorianism’. Shifting away from the academic features of *T* and *G* addressed to the pope in Rome, the report of 1594 aimed at speeding up a timely action on the part of the Inquisition of Lisbon against Mar Abraham. Presented against the backdrop of the errors of the ‘Nestorians’ in general and of Mar Abraham and his supporters in particular, *E.P* paved the way for a secret judicial inquiry against the archbishop, held under the aegis of the Inquisition of Goa and Archbishop Menezes in 1596.<sup>6</sup>

(d) *Interrogatorios de certas herezias et erros Nestorianos contra Mar Abrahão Arcebispo de Angamale da Cristandade da Cerra de S. Thome de Cochim, et contra seus Casanars,*<sup>7</sup> *pellos quais o padre sub*

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<sup>5</sup> *G. f.* 214<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Some of the crucial allegations from the report of 1594: the Catholic dogma on Incarnation is wrong and the Catholic understanding of the Scripture is also wrong (Ros, “Information about Mar Abraham (1593/1594)”, 285); Mar Abraham’s profession of faith made in Rome is adulterated (287); The Nestorians call Rome *Ur Caldeorum* (287); they condemn St. Cyril as devil’s worker (287); Mar Abraham portrays the missionaries of the Roman Church as adversaries and compares them like a sledgehammer poised over the head of the Malabar Christians (288); they do not use the name of the Roman pontiff in the Daily Office (288); “[Mar Abraham is] ill-affected towards the Roman Church” (290); “In the collects [Mar Abraham] never mentions the name of the Pope (291); [Mar Abraham] employs the] Law of Thomas as an instrument of deception against the law of Peter” (292); “[Mar Abraham] is creating division among the people against the ministers of the Catholic Church”, “[he is] enemy of the Roman Church” and he is a “wolf” (293).

<sup>7</sup> The Thomas Christian priests were traditionally known as *Cassanars*. See Dalgado, “Caçanar, Cassanar, Catanar”, in *Glossario Luso-Asiático*, vol. 1, 161–62.

*delegado ha de perguntar as testemunhas*<sup>8</sup> *que das herezias et erros conteudos nelles souberem, comtudo o segredo et resguardo devido* (= ANNT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 4941, ff. 28<sup>r</sup>–37<sup>r</sup> = *I.L.*) (1596).

This is the title given to the report of the preliminary and secret judicial inquiry organized against the heresies and errors of Mar Abraham at Vaipikotta in Malabar by the Inquisition of Goa on 27 April 1596.<sup>9</sup> Unlike the previous two treatises and report against the archbishop, *I.L.* was of a legal character, primarily because of its endorsement on the part of António Barros, the Inquisitor in Goa.<sup>10</sup> This judicial process and its subsequent document brought together in its thirty interrogatories the key accusations against the ‘Nestorians’ in general, against Mar Abraham in particular and against some of the Malabar priests, the supporters of the archbishop.

Armed with a papal brief issued in 1595 on the question of the Malabar Church<sup>11</sup> and with an order from the chief inquisitor of Lisbon, Archbishop Menezes could go to any length to implement his project of reducing the see of Angamaly to the Latin hierarchy. Although the secret judicial inquiry held in 1596 was supposed to play a decisive role in the project of the archbishop of Goa, Cristóvão de Castro, the Jesuit rector in Cochin who oversaw the judicial inquiry, asked the inquisitors not to act on its

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<sup>8</sup> The three Jesuits missioned in the Jesuit seminary of Vaipikotta were the witnesses in the secret judicial inquiry (1596): António Toscano, Francisco Ros, and Jorge de Castro.

<sup>9</sup> For the original document, see ANNT, *Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 4941, ff. 28<sup>r</sup>–37<sup>r</sup>. For an analysis of this document in its historical background, see Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 150–55.

<sup>10</sup> ANNT, *Tribunal do Santo Ofício, I.L.*, proc. 4941, f. 30<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Responding to the reports from India against Mar Abraham, Cardinal Alberto, the inquisitor general in Lisbon, ordered the inquisitors of Goa in 1595 that they initiate a formal inquiry into the life and doctrine of Mar Abraham. In addition to this order from Lisbon, a papal brief of 27 January 1595 directed the archbishop of Goa to arrange an inquiry into the errors of the archbishop. Menezes received this papal brief from the Jesuit provincial of India, Cabral, in November 1595. Cf. *D.I.* XVII, 230.

report, since everything was fine in the Malabar Church in 1596.<sup>12</sup> Kept in the dark of the secret undercurrents against him, Mar Abraham passed away in January 1597.<sup>13</sup> Menezes promptly sent the report of the judicial inquiry to Europe, but the Jesuits in Malabar, especially Ros, tried in vain to prevent Menezes from overshooting the mark by his excessive zeal. After all, the aimed mark, Mar Abraham, was no more after January 1597. For this reason, Ros alerted his superiors in Rome to an imminent danger in employing coercive means to subdue the Thomas Christians.<sup>14</sup>

(e) *The Synod of Diamper* (= *S.D.*) (1599)

After the death of Mar Abraham in the beginning of 1597, the polemical treatises by Ros and the reports against Mar Abraham, including the report of the judicial inquiry of 1596, lost their contextual relevance, in terms of their primary goal—that is, ousting the Chaldean metropolitan from India. On 21 January 1597, Pope Clement VIII issued a second papal brief on the Malabar Church, according to which Menezes ensured unlimited authority to determine the course of action regarding the future status of the sede vacante.<sup>15</sup> The archbishop designed new ways, mostly coercive in nature, to reducing the see of Angamaly to the Latin archdiocese of Goa, in turn precluding every possibility of the revival of the Chaldean jurisdiction in India. This project of reduction reached its culmination in the Synod of Diamper convoked by him in the Malabar Church, in which the previous treatises and reports from Ros played their crucial and apologetic role in the background.

Although the apologetic aspects of the Rosian treatises reflected in the dogmatic decrees of the Synod of Diamper, the synod did not explicitly condemn the alleged heresies of the late metropolitan, Mar Abraham. The synod, however, continued to portray the East Syrians in general as the “cursed sect of the Nestorians”, “disobedient schismatics”, “aliens from the holy Catholic faith”, “accursed”, “excommunicated” and “damnable sect”,<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Baião, *A Inquisição de Goa*, vol. 2, 250.

<sup>13</sup> ARSI, *Goa-Mal.* 14, f. 357<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> ARSI, *Goa-Mal.* 14, f. 357<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> See Beltrami, *La Chiesa Caldea*, 252–53.

<sup>16</sup> *S.D.* Sess. III, dec. 8, 9 and 11.



without making any comment on the status of the Chaldean Catholic Church united with Rome. Intriguing enough, from 1601 onwards, Ros, then the first Latin bishop of Angamaly, struggled hard to toning down the offensive language of the Synod of Diamper that had indeed overshot the mark.<sup>17</sup> Ros himself ardently opposed the synodal decrees that unnecessarily tampered with the regional features of the Malabar Church. Most importantly, the coercive approach of the synod had seriously tampered with the Jesuit praxis of accommodation designed by Ros for the mission among the Thomas Christians.<sup>18</sup> Despite all the interpolations and manipulations worked behind the scenes,<sup>19</sup> the Synod of Diamper indirectly responded especially in its third session, as the table below shows, to most of the dogmatic and scriptural questions raised by Ros in his previous treatises and reports.

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<sup>17</sup> For a contextual analysis of the changed approach of the Jesuits in Malabar towards the Synod of Diamper, see Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 185–223.

<sup>18</sup> ARSI, *Goa-Mal.* 15, ff. 155<sup>rv</sup>; Thaliath, *The Synod of Diamper*, 130–31. On the high-handed measures of Menezes that threatened the initiatives of Ros in the field of accommodation, see Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation*, 421–22.

<sup>19</sup> In 1603 Bishop Ros wrote to his Jesuit superiors in Rome: “if His Holiness confirmed the above-said synod [of Diamper] he would be placing all these Christians in a state of mortal sin, as they would not keep it; if His Holiness approved, I say, what has to do with practices (*costumbres*) in such a way as to make a law. As great evils would follow from such procedure, I request Your Paternity for the love of our Lord, on receiving this information, to use your influence in the court of Rome so that this step, ruinous to souls, may be averted and let the Holy Father be informed of it; let not these Christians say that we have duped them; for, to tell you the entire truth, some of the canons of the above-said Synod the Archbishop [Menezes] himself added after the Synod was over; not a single canon was discussed or altered, so much so that there was no form of a synod, and it cannot be said to contain anything more than directive principles; they heard them without understanding what was being said, as I can myself bear ample witness as also the other Fathers who understood the language. His Excellency [Menezes] many a time had said that the Synod was intended merely to show them the way of their salvation without obstacles”. ARSI, *Goa-Mal.* 15, ff. 155–55<sup>v</sup>. (trans. Thaliath, *The Synod of Diamper*, 130–31).

The table below has not taken into consideration every theological proposition or allegation raised by Ros in his treatises and in the subsequent reports attributed to him. Instead, it exclusively highlights the common and selected elements found in most of the documents. The references to the decrees of the Synod of Diamper imply the response of the synod to the ‘Nestorian’ question in general, without any reference to Mar Abraham in particular. The references to the documents in the table thematically correspond in each row. To mention a general feature of this presentation, I call attention to row 36 which demonstrates clearly how the polemical tone of the documents becomes sharper as they move chronologically closer to the Synod of Diamper.

<i>Theological propositions and allegations</i>	<i>T (folio)</i>	<i>G (folio) H (page)</i>	<i>E.P (page)</i>	<i>LL (folio)</i>	<i>S.D (Decree etc.)</i>
1. The third provincial council of Goa (1585) admonished Mar Abraham of Angamaly for retaining in his see Syriac books corrupted by erroneous propositions associated with the heresy of Nestorius and his companions.		G. f. 198 <sup>r</sup> H. 15	285	Interrogatory: 1 LL. f. 28 <sup>r</sup>	
2. After returning to Malabar, Mar Abraham was cautioned repeatedly for many years on the importance of purging the Syriac books.		G. f. 198 <sup>r</sup> H. 15	285	Interrogatory: 2 LL. f. 28 <sup>r</sup>	
3. By malice and deceit Mar Abraham disrespected his promise made in Goa.		G. f. 198 <sup>r</sup> H. 15	285	Interrogatory: 3 LL. f. 28 <sup>r</sup>	
4. The heretical books state that the Union of Incarnation	T. f. 14 <sup>r</sup>	G. f. 205 <sup>v</sup> H. 24	285, 286, 289	Interrogatory: 4 LL. ff. 28 <sup>rv</sup>	Sess. III, dec. 15

is common to the entire Trinity, and accordingly, the Father and the Holy Spirit also incarnated.					
5. that the Union of Incarnation is of love and will and not of hypostatic union.	<i>T. ff.</i> 11 <sup>r</sup> , 15 <sup>v</sup> , 16 <sup>v</sup> , 18 <sup>r</sup>	<i>G. ff.</i> 199 <sup>r</sup> , 207 <sup>v</sup> <i>H.</i> 16, 26	289	Interrogatory: 4 <i>LL. f.</i> 28 <sup>v</sup>	
6. that Christ is the temple of the divine Word. The Word is adored in Christ as in a temple.	<i>T. ff.</i> 10 <sup>v</sup> , 13 <sup>r</sup> , 14 <sup>v</sup> , 17 <sup>v</sup>	<i>G. ff.</i> 199 <sup>r</sup> , 204 <sup>r</sup> , 206 <sup>v</sup> <i>H.</i> 16, 22, 25	285	Interrogatory: 4 <i>LL. f.</i> 28 <sup>v</sup>	Sess. III, dec. 14.
7. that the Incarnation of the Divine Word was not in the way the Catholics profess (Catholics erred in understanding the Sacred Scriptures and the power of God).	<i>T. ff.</i> 14 <sup>rv</sup>	<i>G. ff.</i> 204 <sup>r</sup> –05 <sup>r</sup> <i>H.</i> 22–23	285	Interrogatory: 5 <i>LL. f.</i> 28 <sup>v</sup>	
8. that the Virgin Mary is not the Mother of God but of Christ.	<i>T. ff.</i> 12 <sup>v</sup> , 18 <sup>v</sup> , 13 <sup>r</sup> , 14 <sup>v</sup> , 18 <sup>r</sup>	<i>G. ff.</i> 200 <sup>r</sup> –01 <sup>r</sup> , 204 <sup>r</sup> <i>H.</i> 17, 22	285	Interrogatory: 5 <i>LL. f.</i> 28 <sup>v</sup>	Sess. III, dec. 14
9. The <i>Letter to the Hebrews</i> is falsified by them. <sup>20</sup>	<i>T. f.</i> 11 <sup>r</sup>	<i>G. f.</i> 202 <sup>r</sup> <i>H.</i> 18–19		Interrogatory: 6 <i>LL. f.</i> 28 <sup>v</sup>	Sess. III, dec. 3
10. The first <i>Letter of St. John</i> is falsified. <sup>21</sup>	<i>T. f.</i> 10 <sup>r</sup>	<i>G. f.</i> 202 <sup>r</sup> <i>H.</i> 18		Interrogatory: 7 <i>LL. f.</i> 28 <sup>v</sup>	Sess. III, dec. 3
11. that in Christ, there are two persons, divine and human.	<i>T. f.</i> 11 <sup>v</sup>	<i>G. f.</i> 199 <sup>r</sup> <i>H.</i> 16	285	Interrogatory: 7 <i>LL. f.</i> 28 <sup>v</sup>	Sess. III, dec. 14.
12. The Nestorians removed from the Sacred Scripture the verses which	<i>T. ff.</i> 10 <sup>r</sup> – 11 <sup>r</sup>	<i>G. ff.</i> 202 <sup>r</sup> –03 <sup>r</sup> <i>H.</i> 18–20		Interrogatory: 8 <i>LL. f.</i> 28 <sup>v</sup>	Sess. III, dec. 3

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Heb. 2: 9.

<sup>21</sup> 1 John 3: 16.

contradicted their opinion, and falsified the other verses to fix them in line with their heresy. <sup>22</sup>					
13. that the penalties of the human nature were not due to the original sin.		G. f. 208 <sup>r</sup> , 212 <sup>r</sup> H. 27, 33	286–87	Interrogatory: 9 I.L. f. 28 <sup>v</sup>	Sess. III, dec. 1, chapt. 5
14. that the Holy Spirit proceeds only from the Father and not from the Son.				Interrogatory: 10 I.L. f. 28 <sup>v</sup>	Sess. III. Dec.1, chapt. 1
15. that the Virgin Mary did not enter heaven. She waits in the terrestrial paradise until the day of the universal judgement.			285	Interrogatory: 11 I.L. ff. 28 <sup>v</sup> – 29 <sup>f</sup>	Sess. III, dec.14
16. that the souls of the just do not instantly enjoy the Divine Essence in heaven, instead, they wait for the day of judgement.			286	Interrogatory: 12 I.L. f. 29 <sup>f</sup>	Sess. III, dec. 14
17. that the Virgin Mary experienced labour pain when she gave birth to her son.				Interrogatory: 13 I.L. f. 29 <sup>f</sup>	Sess. III, dec. 14, 15
18. that St. Joseph, the spouse of the Virgin, had another wife besides the said Lady.			286	Interrogatory: 13 I.L. f. 29 <sup>f</sup>	Sess. III, dec. 14
19. that St. Joseph rebuked the Child Jesus and asked him why he committed			286	Interrogatory: 13 I.L. f. 29 <sup>f</sup>	Sess. III, dec. 14

<sup>22</sup> See the five allegedly falsified verses in the edition of T.

improper and wicked tricks.					
20. that St. Joseph accompanied the child Jesus to school to give him instruction.			286	Interrogatory: 14 <i>I.L. f. 29<sup>r</sup></i>	Sess. III, dec. 14
21. that the Magi kings did not merit anything by adoring the Infant Jesus, and they did not believe much even after they adored him.	Cf. <i>T. f. 13<sup>v</sup></i>	Cf. <i>G. f. 204<sup>r</sup></i> <i>H. 22</i>	286	Interrogatory: 14 <i>I.L. f. 29<sup>r</sup></i>	Sess. III, dec. 14
22. that St. Ephrem is portrayed as a Nestorian saint.	<i>T. f. 19<sup>v</sup></i>	<i>G. f. 211<sup>r</sup></i> <i>H. 32</i>	286	Interrogatory: 15 <i>I.L. f. 29<sup>r</sup></i>	Sess. III, Dec.15
23. that Emperor Constantine was a devotee of Nestorius.		<i>G. f. 211<sup>r</sup></i> <i>H. 32</i>	286	Interrogatory: 16 <i>I.L. f. 29<sup>r</sup></i>	
24. The book <i>Exposição dos Evangelhos</i> authored by a certain Nestorian bishop abounds in errors, heresies, fables, lies and temerities.			286	Interrogatory: 17 <i>I.L. f. 29<sup>r</sup></i>	Sess. III, dec.14
25. Every year, Mar Abraham and some of his priests secretly celebrate the feast of	<i>T. f. 19<sup>v</sup></i> <sup>23</sup>	<i>G. f. 213<sup>r</sup></i> <i>H. 34</i>	287	Interrogatory: 18 <i>I.L. f. 29<sup>r</sup></i>	Sess. III, dec. 9 <sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> "Scimus quoque usque in praesentem diem socios Nestorii Diodorus et Theodorus publice ut divos coluisse nulla Nestorii habita mentione, cui iam diu mentium remiserant". *T. f. 19<sup>v</sup>*.

<sup>24</sup> Mar Abraham is indirectly mentioned in this decree: "and by the commands of the prelates of the same sect, on a certain day the impious and false heretic Nestorius is commemorated in this bishopric". *S.D. Sess. III, dec. 9.*

Nestorius and his companions.					
26. They employ prescribed readings and prayers for the feast of Nestorius and his companions.		G. ff. 211 <sup>r</sup> –12 <sup>r</sup> H. 32–33 <sup>25</sup>	287	Interrogatory: 19 I.L. ff. 29 <sup>v</sup>	Sess. V, dec. 2
27. In their books, they invoke God's justice on those who maintain opinion contrary to what the said heretics have taught.	T. f. 18 <sup>r</sup>	G. f. 210 <sup>v</sup> H. 31–32	287	Interrogatory: 19 I.L. ff. 29 <sup>v</sup>	
28. that God did not die for the salvation of humans.	T. ff. 10 <sup>r</sup> , 11 <sup>r</sup>	G. f. 202 <sup>r</sup> H. 18	287	Interrogatory: 19 I.L. f. 29 <sup>v</sup>	Sess. III, chapt. 2, dec. 5
29. They call Rome <i>Ur Caldeorum</i> .			287	Interrogatory: 19 I.L. f. 29 <sup>v</sup>	
30. Mar Abraham and his priests praise Nestorius and his companions as great saints in heaven.	T. f. 18 <sup>v</sup> –19 <sup>v</sup>	G. ff. 209 <sup>r</sup> –11 <sup>r</sup> H. 28–32	287	Interrogatory: 20 I.L. f. 29 <sup>v</sup>	Sess. III, dec. 9
31. God did not suffer death.	T. ff. 10 <sup>r</sup> , 11 <sup>r</sup>	G. ff. 202 <sup>r</sup> –03 <sup>r</sup> H. 18–20	287	Interrogatory: 20, I.L. f. 29 <sup>v</sup>	Sess. III, dec. 3; chapt. 2, dec. 5
32. Mar Abraham claimed in his letter to the Nestorian patriarch that he himself had translated Bar Yohanan Kaldun's book from Syriac to Latin and that he had presented it before	Ref. Kaldun T. ff. 11 <sup>v</sup> , 13 <sup>r</sup> , 14 <sup>r</sup> , 17 <sup>v</sup> .	Ref. Kaldun G. ff. 199 <sup>r</sup> , 212 <sup>r</sup> H. 16, 33	288–89	Interrogatory: 21 I.L. f. 29 <sup>v</sup>	Sess. III, dec. 14 (Condemns the book)

<sup>25</sup> “And indeed when they recite the Divine Office, while they slur over the names of these heretics, they merely read, sing and recite the above mentioned commemorations, without any mention of Nestorius and his friends”. *C.M.G.* 160; *H.* 32–33; *G. ff.* 211<sup>r</sup>–12<sup>r</sup>.

the third provincial council of Goa and that the synodal Fathers had appreciated him for the praiseworthy translation of the Nestorian dogma on Incarnation.					
33. In Mar Abraham's letter to the Chaldean patriarch, he addressed him 'the teacher of our teachers', 'the pastor of our pastors', 'sun of the Catholics'. In the divine office, the patriarch was called 'the universal pastor'.		G. f. 212 <sup>r</sup> H. 33	288	Interrogatory: 22 I.L. f. 29 <sup>v</sup>	Sess. III, dec. 8
34. Mar Abraham's profession of faith made in Rome contradicts our Catholic faith. <sup>26</sup>			287–88	Interrogatory: 23 I.L. f. 29 <sup>v</sup>	Sess. II, dec. 1 <sup>27</sup>
35. Mar Abraham and his priests prevent the faithful from meditating upon the Passion and Death of Christ, saying that it would	Cf. T. ff. 10 <sup>r</sup> , 18 <sup>r</sup>	Cf. G. f. 210 <sup>v</sup>	288	Interrogatory: 24 I.L. ff. 29 <sup>v</sup> –30 <sup>r</sup>	Sess. III, dec. 5

<sup>26</sup> Raulin raised this charge basing his argument on the interpretation of the words *natura* and *suppositum*. See Raulin, ed. *Historia Ecclesiae Malabaricae*, 13–14. In *E.P.*, Ros accused Mar Abraham of replacing in his profession of faith the words 'We believe that the Son of God took human nature' with the words 'the Son of God took the human person'. Ros, "Information about Mar Abraham", 287–88. The two instances mentioned in this note are typical cases in point which demonstrate how the meaning of the Syriac words (*parsopa*, *kyana* and *qnoma*) changed in tune with the theological position of the interpreter.

<sup>27</sup> "and of the errors contrary thereunto, which have been sowed in this diocese by heretics and schismatics". *S.D.* Sess. II, dec. 1.

despise and insult Christ our Lord.					
36. Mar Abraham and some of his priests say that the pope and those belong to the Roman Church had excommunicated Nestorius out of envy, sensing that he was better than them.	T. f. 19 <sup>r</sup> “per invidiam familiae Cyrilli”	G. f. 211 <sup>r</sup> “Invidia familiae Cyrilli”	287 “envy of St. Cyril and of his party”	Interrogatory: 25 I.L. f. 30 <sup>r</sup> Envy of “the pope and those of the Roman Church”	Sess. III, dec. 14, 20.
37. They call St. Cyril devil’s worker.	T. f. 19 <sup>r</sup>	G. f. 211 <sup>r</sup> H. 32	287		Sess. III, dec. 14, 20
38. Mar Abraham and his priests use a book of sorcery, viz. the <i>Paresman</i> .		G. f. 213 <sup>r</sup> H. 33	289	Interrogatory: 26 I.L. f. 30 <sup>r</sup>	Sess. III, dec. 14
39. Mar Abraham disregards the purity of the Sacraments of the Church.		G. f. 213 <sup>r</sup> H. 33–34 (On Baptism, Confirmation and Sacred Orders)	290	Interrogatory: 28 I.L. f. 30 <sup>r</sup>	Sess. IV–Sess. VII
40. Mar Abraham and his priests, because of their negligence and malice, condone extramarital living together of the Christians. <sup>28</sup>			292	Interrogatory: 29 I.L. f. 30 <sup>r</sup>	Sess. IX, dec. 11
41. Mar Abraham ordains unworthy		G. f. 213 <sup>r</sup> H. 34	291	Interrogatory: 30	Sess. VII, dec. 1

<sup>28</sup> Here the question is concerning the concubinage of the Christians in general. Cf. Mecherry, *Testing Ground for Jesuit Accommodation in Early Modern India*, 153–54. The interrogatory 29 of the judicial inquiry of 1596 reads: “Se sabe que o ditto Arçebispo e seus Caçenares dão licença aos Christãos de Cerra para viverem e estarem amancebados publicamente e por descuido, negligencia, et malicia sua, os não casa”. ANTT, *Tribunal do Santo Officio*, I.L., proc. 4941, f. 30<sup>r</sup>.



persons priests, without respecting the requirement of legitimate age, learning etc.				<i>LL. f. 30<sup>r</sup></i>	
42. Mar Abraham sells the Holy Sacraments for money.		<i>G. f. 213<sup>r</sup></i> <i>H. 34</i>	290	Interrogatory: 30 <i>LL. f. 30<sup>r</sup></i>	Sess. IV, dec. 18; Sess. VI, dec. 10, Sess. VII, dec. 20, 21, 22



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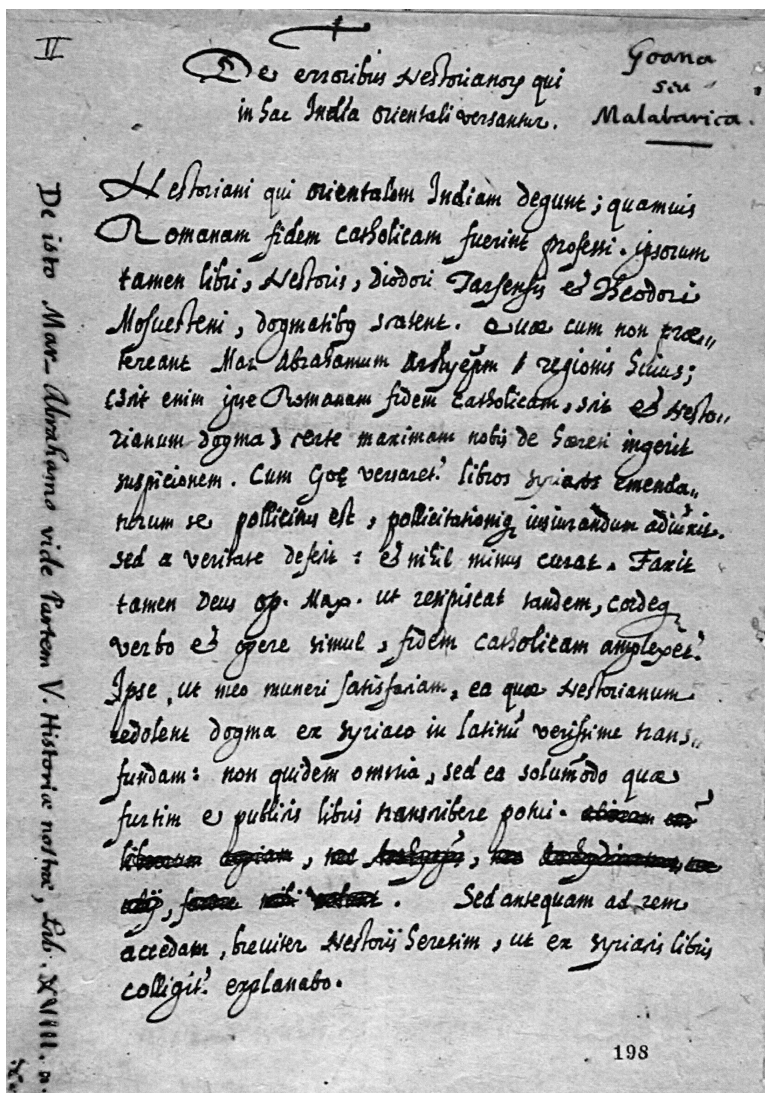
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# APPENDICES

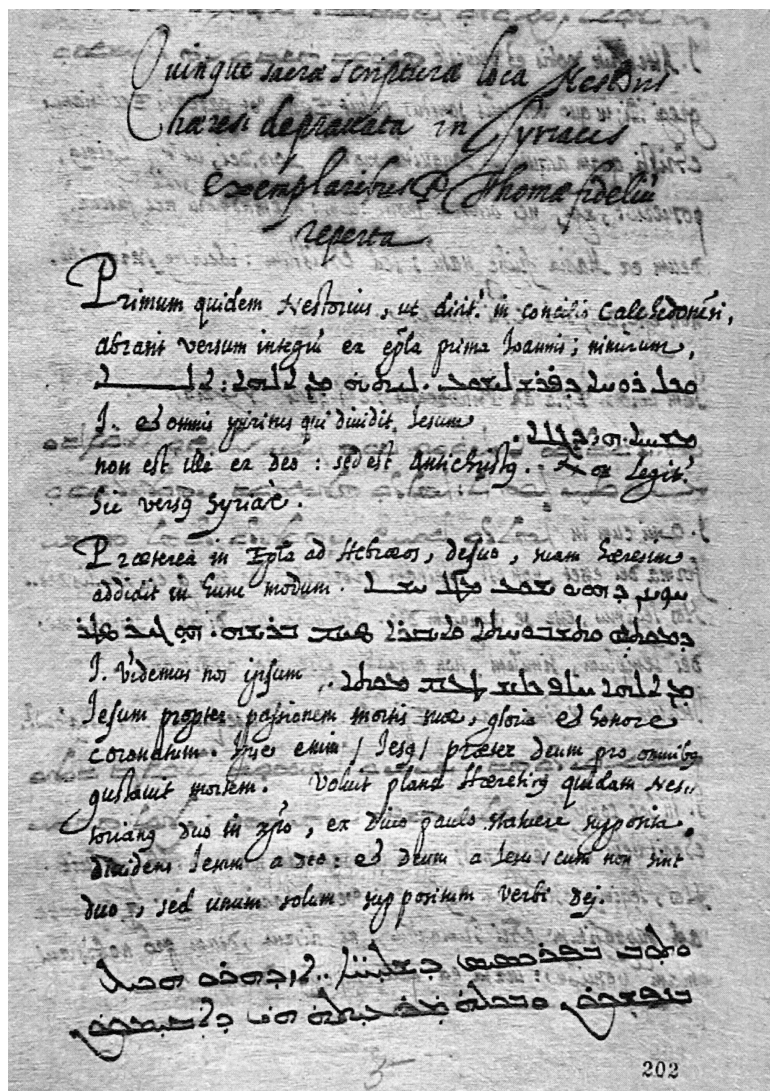


**Appendix 1: Seventeenth-Century Ecclesiastical Divisions in India.** Courtesy of the Jesuit Province Archive, Lisbon.



Appendix 2: First folio of *De Erroribus Nestorianorum qui in hac India Orientali Versantur* (1587). ARSI, Goa-Mal. 50, 198<sup>r</sup>.

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Appendix 3: A folio from *De Erroribus Nestorianorum qui in hac India Orientali Versantur*. ARSI, Goa-Mal. 50, 202<sup>r</sup>.

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